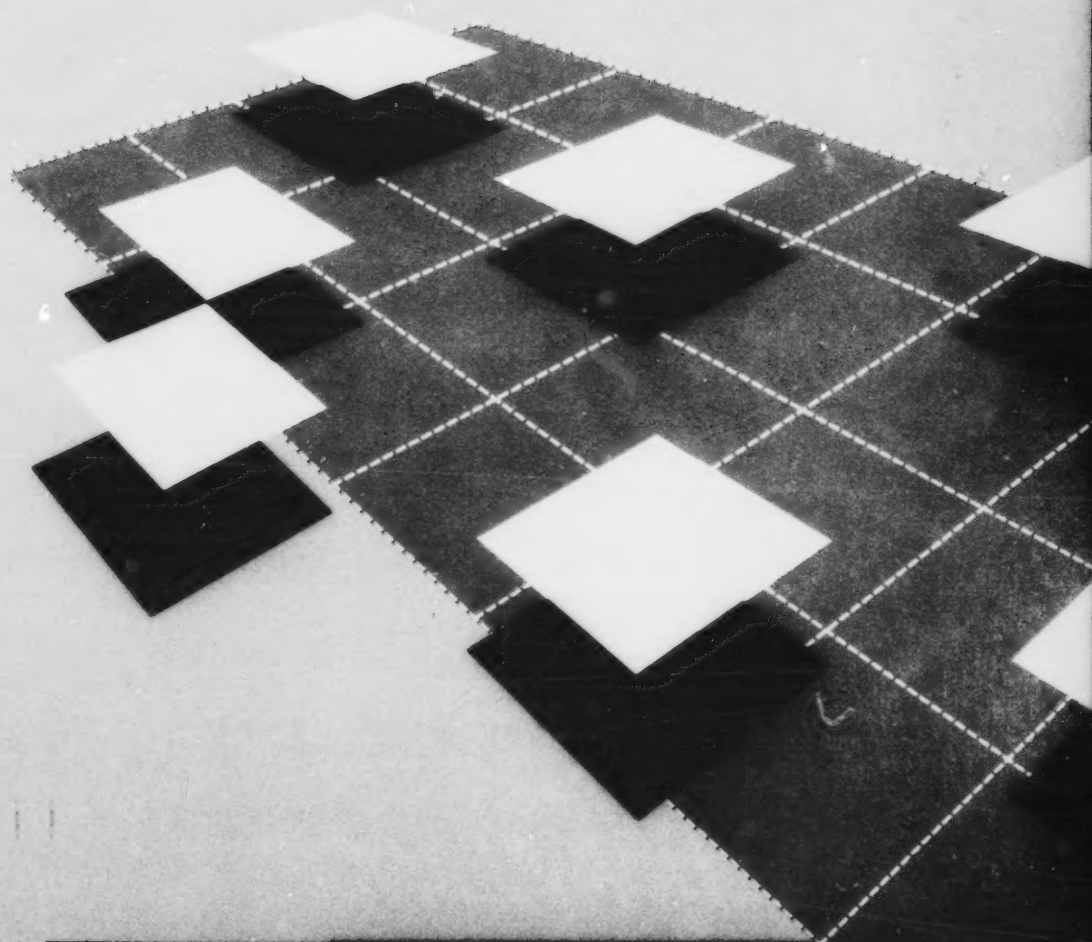


Gentrification
or urban sprawl?
Central Montréal
and surrounding area



Québec 

Gentrification or urban sprawl?

Central Montréal and surrounding area

Société d'habitation du Québec
Direction générale de la planification et de la recherche
Direction de l'analyse et de la recherche

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FOREWORD

This document discusses significant changes in the housing habits of households in the metropolitan Montréal region over the last fifteen years. In particular, it focuses on the phenomenon known as gentrification in which older inner city neighbourhoods are the scene of the emergence of a new, young, educated and professional middle class with few or no children. These households gradually move into the neighbourhood, making substantial improvements to the previously neglected residential environment.

Before dealing with this still largely unexplored issue, we want to thank David Ley, Ph.D., professor of geography at the University of British Columbia and an expert in gentrification. He has been a source of inspiration and motivation throughout our work. Our exchanges of views, as well as his comments and criticisms have been very valuable to the progress of our research.

We also want to thank Louise Richard and Luba Serge of the City of Montréal, François Brunelle, Director, and Gilles Boudreau of the Service d'évaluation foncière of the Communauté urbaine de Montréal (CUM), and Jean-Clément Dion and Fouad Stephan of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation who provided us with indispensable data for our study.

Finally, we want to thank Monique Boileau and Claude-Rodrigue Deschênes, of the Direction de l'analyse et de la recherche, for their valuable comments on the first draft of this text. And a last word of appreciation for the patience and diligent work of Huguette Tellier who typed the text.

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List of initials and acronyms

BSQ -	Bureau de la statistique du Québec (Québec statistics agency)
CÉGEP -	Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel (college)
CLSC -	Centre local de services communautaires (local community services centre)
CMA -	Census metropolitan area
CMHC -	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
COOP -	Rental housing cooperative
CUM -	Communauté urbaine de Montréal (Montréal urban community)
DGU -	Direction générale de l'urbanisme (urban planning branch)
GRIR -	Groupe de recherche et d'interventions régionales (regional research and action group)
HOAP -	Home Ownership Assistance Program
HUD -	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
INRS -	Institut national de la recherche scientifique (national research institute)
LOGINOVE -	Programme québécois d'aide à la restauration résidentielle (Québec residential renovation assistance program)
LRH -	Low-rental housing
MURB -	Multiple unit residential building
NPO -	Non-profit organization
NIP -	Neighbourhood Improvement Program
OLF -	Office de la langue française
RRAP -	Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program
RSQ -	Revised Statutes of Québec

SUMMARY

This study examines significant changes which have taken place in the metropolitan Montréal region which reflect new trends in housing consumption. Essentially, it highlights two opposing phenomena of unequal strength: urban sprawl (centrifugal force), in which the suburbs continue to grow, both in size and population, and gentrification (centripetal force), in which older neighbourhoods, located near the downtown core, are the locus for the emergence of a new middle class from the baby boom generation, educated, professional, with a low propensity to have children and attracted by the heritage value of these neighbourhoods.

Photo 1
Renovated housing in central Montréal



A visible manifestation of gentrification. These units, which date from the Victorian period, have been renovated by their occupants to contemporary tastes. Over the past fifteen to twenty years, many downtown neighbourhoods in Montréal have undergone this kind of face-lift.

Using a spatial (the metropolitan region was divided into seven zones, three for the Mid-Island area and four for the suburbs) and time analysis (the study covers the period from 1971 to 1986) of certain socio-demographic variables (age groups, employment category, education, tenure, etc.), the study concludes that gentrification is a marginal phenomenon when compared with urban sprawl.

Of the three Mid-Island zones, only the Central Core shows obvious signs, at the aggregate level, of gentrification. At most, from 10 000 to 12 000 individuals took part in this urban revival by 1986. When compared to the depopulation of the Mid-Island (loss of 260 000 people from 1971 to 1986) and the population increase in the suburbs (gain of more than 400 000 from 1971 to 1986), gentrification is seen as a relatively minor factor in accounting for recent urban phenomena. At most, we can point to a new trend that is taking hold very tentatively and is still far from reversing the dominant trend of urban sprawl.

1 INTRODUCTION

Bill 87, which set out the ground rules for co-ownership conversions of rental buildings, was approved on December 17, 1987¹. The new legislation brought an end to a moratorium introduced twelve years before and which, over the years, it had become common practice to circumvent. These loopholes were especially popular in the central portion of the island of Montréal where demand pressure on the stock of inexpensive older housing was particularly heavy.

The decision was therefore taken to lift the moratorium, taking care to protect tenants from eviction of any kind. However, prudence and a desire to satisfy the demands of certain elected local representatives (including the City of Montréal) resulted in a continuing ban on such conversions throughout the entire Communauté urbaine de Montréal (CUM). To provide a degree of flexibility, municipalities within the CUM were authorized to opt out of this rule provided their municipal council passed a bylaw allowing either a partial or a total lifting of the ban on co-ownership conversions.

The issue is therefore still open in this part of the Montréal region and is now in the hands of municipal councils, which can make choices that reflect their needs.

This study attempts to examine certain structural changes, with an impact on housing conditions, that have occurred in various parts of the metropolitan Montréal region since the beginning of the 1970s. The data considered are directly associated with what some have called gentrification, and what seems to be a consequence of this phenomenon, the conversion of rental housing to co-ownership status. The study is essentially quantitative and tries to examine the extent of these transformations in the inner city compared to the phenomenon of urban sprawl.

1.1 Gentrification: definitions, concepts and etymology

The word "gentrification" first appeared in a study published by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964². This term was used to describe the residential movements of the middle class into certain older neighbourhoods of London around 1960. The etymological root, "gentry", means a person of noble birth who has the rank or quality of a gentleman, who belongs to the middle and ruling class. This word was used in France in the 19th century to designate the minor nobility. "Gentry" can now be found in most classic dictionaries of the French language (Larousse, Robert, CEC).

The word gentrification has been used in the English language media for about 25 years and is found in many English dictionaries. The Canadian multidisciplinary dictionary *Housing* (1987) provides a fairly detailed description of the process. Gentrification begins with the gradual arrival of more affluent households into neighbourhoods with a less prosperous population. The value of inner city housing begins to rise, reversing a general downward trend up till then. Higher housing values result from residential renovation, causing rents to increase and consequently displacing low-income, frequently elderly, households.

¹ An Act respecting the Régie du logement, RSQ, Ch. R-8.1, sec. 51 and subsequent.

² GLASS, R., "Introduction", in *London: Aspects of Change*, Centre of Urban Studies, London, McGibbon and Kee.

Some authors writing in French have used the term *gentrification*, for instance Yvette Herzhaft-Marin³, Damaris Rose⁴ and Paul Villeneuve⁵. The first author feels there is no appropriate French translation. The second prefers *gentrification* to *élitisation* because it more adequately describes the process of reclaiming inner city neighbourhoods. In Montréal, the French language mass media and people in the housing field (community groups, tenants associations, developers, etc.) appear to prefer the word *gentrification* to other terms.

In December 1988, the Office de la langue française (OLF) issued an opinion recommending the use of the French term *embourgeoisement*. While the definition suggested by the OLF describes the phenomenon of *gentrification* relatively well, the classic popular French dictionaries (*Petit Larousse*, *Petit Robert*) essentially retain the pejorative meaning of the word *embourgeoisement*, rather than the terminological development suggested by the Office. Moreover, the word *embourgeoisement* is first and foremost applicable to an individual phenomenon affecting the person (a person becomes a member of the bourgeoisie or middle class). *Gentrification*, as experienced in North America, is more applicable to a sociological and collective phenomenon associated with the renovation of older housing in inner city neighbourhoods of big cities.

The English term, *gentrification*, also seems a bit awkward to describe the process of urban renewal in inner city neighbourhoods of North American cities. Originally, *gentrification* meant a residential movement from the exterior into London's inner city but, in North America, the characteristic movement in the improvement of inner city neighbourhoods is intra-urban instead (same neighbourhood or adjacent neighbourhood)⁶. In fact, a certain middle class with a new culture has an interest in city life.

There is no lack of expressions to describe the phenomenon: "urban revitalization", "reclamation of older neighbourhoods", "reanimation of inner city neighbourhoods", "urban renewal", "residential renovation in older neighbourhoods", etc. Most English-speaking and some French-speaking authors, as well as the media and those in the community probably use the word *gentrification* for lack of anything better. We chose this term for this document, not because we found it completely appropriate, but because it seems to be the most widely accepted to describe the phenomenon. The suggestion of the OLF, *embourgeoisement*, has not been accepted unanimously and is hampered by its earlier pejorative meaning. The phenomenon under study is a complex, contemporary reality which this term, in our opinion, does not fully reflect.

³ HERZHAFT-MARIN, Yvette, *RavensCourt Road, une rue de Londres en cours de gentrification*, France, Atelier national de reproduction des thèses, Université de Lille, 401 p.

⁴ ROSE, Damaris, "Un aperçu féministe sur la restructuration de l'emploi et sur la *gentrification*: le cas de Montréal", *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, vol. 31, n° 83, pp. 205-224.

⁵ VILLENEUVE, Paul, *Les mouvements sociaux dans la ville informationnelle*, text of a paper presented to the "Mouvements sociaux dans le développement local" symposium, organized by the GRIR, at the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, September 22 and 23, 1988.

⁶ GALE, Dennis E., *Neighborhood Revitalization and the Postindustrial City. A Multinational Perspective*. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books/D.C. Heath and Company.

1.2 The gentrification process

Many case studies have described the gentrification process. There are a number of stages in the dynamic of the process^{7 8 9}.

- 1° The pioneers (first actors) are a small group of bold people who buy at low prices and do their own renovations. Households are single persons or childless couples. They are educated and work in intellectual or artistic professions. They are attracted by older homes with interesting architectural features (oak woodwork, fine materials, doors with leaded glass, etc.). These households are looking to benefit from an attractive location at a low price. Few established residents need move, because the newcomers often buy their own home or unoccupied homes. Given the run-down condition of the property and the neighbourhood, financial institutions are rather unwilling to provide mortgage financing. Households use private funds to purchase and renovate.
- 2° The trend continues with the same class of people. The phenomenon becomes more visible and prompts interest among real estate brokers. Small speculators appear. They buy buildings with a lot of potential and make cosmetic renovations. Although prices are still low, rents increase appreciably because of the growing renovation activity. This spurs the displacement of established residents. Mortgage lenders become less reluctant. The media become interested in the activity in the neighbourhood.
- 3° Private investors continue to arrive. The new residents begin to organize themselves to make demands on public authorities. Displacement becomes a serious problem. The improvements in the neighbourhood are now highly visible. The volume of renovation continues to increase. Prices begin to escalate. The municipality, to improve its tax base, encourages the change in the neighbourhood by means of direct or indirect assistance programs (heritage protection assistance, public services, neighbourhood improvement programs, renewal of commercial arteries, etc.). Major property developers arrive on the scene. With prices rising, financial institutions are now ready to lend. Displacements reach their peak because even non-renovated rental buildings are affected by rising prices. Differences in lifestyles and consumption habits between established and new residents cause tensions to rise.
- 4° There are many business people and senior executives among the new residents. The area stabilizes as a revitalized neighbourhood. New shops bear little resemblance to their predecessors: art galleries, cafés, trendy restaurants, specialized boutiques. Not only tenants but small landlords are also affected by displacement. Many non-residential buildings are converted into condominiums or lofts. Many sociocultural facilities are provided (theatres, cultural centres, etc.). Now that the buildings command high prices, speculators sell them. The neighbourhood is very desirable.

⁷ CLAY, Phillip L., *Neighborhood Renewal: Trends and Strategies*. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books/D.C. Heath and Company.

⁸ GALE, Dennis E., "Neighborhood Resettlement: Washington, D.C.", in S.B. LASKA and D. SPAIN (ed.): 95-115.

⁹ DANSEREAU, Francine and L'ÉCUYER, Daniel, *Réanimation, reconquête, conversion*. *Revue de la littérature et bibliographie sélective annotée*. Montréal, INRS-Urbanisation, 274 p.

Some authors see gentrification as a three-stage process, but all agree it is irreversible¹⁰. Once started, gentrification continues to its completion. Its speed varies from two to five years for each stage of the process¹¹.

However, the most striking aspect of this phenomenon is that the new residents are relatively young (the baby boom cohort) and educated (the vast majority are university graduates). They hold professional, technical, administrative or managerial jobs. Households are small (single person or childless couple¹²). The phenomenon is accompanied by the rehabilitation (residential and commercial) of older neighbourhoods, causing a gradual rise in value. This prompts increases in property taxes and rents, leading to the displacement of needy residents. The values and consumption habits of a new sociocultural class make cohabitation with established residents difficult.

1.3 Change in residential tenure

A greater propensity to home-ownership seems to be a corollary of gentrification. In Québec, as everywhere else in North America, the preference of the actors in gentrification for home-ownership has been closely associated with the conversion of rental buildings to co-ownership. In the older inner city neighbourhoods, the housing stock can satisfy the tastes of this new middle class (rehabilitation, renovation) only if the form of tenure is converted from tenancy to ownership. Since the beginning of the 1970s, Québec has experienced a tide of conversions of rental buildings to co-ownership.

Several factors have encouraged such conversions. The co-ownership mode of tenure only received legal sanction in Québec in 1969. Some quickly saw the possibility of converting rental buildings to co-ownership as a result of the new legislation. But the main factors were more economic in nature. The poor economic conditions of the 1970s and 1980s (galloping inflation, stagflation in the 1970s and the recession of the 1980s) prompted many households to seek shelter from economic hard times. According to an American study (HUD, 1980), 62% of tenant households that bought a converted condominium gave essentially economic factors as the reason for their decision: a hedge against inflation, stabilization of shelter costs, good investment, a relatively attractive price.

1.4 Structural changes, gentrification and urban sprawl

Opposing the centripetal phenomenon of gentrification acting on the inner city is the much more powerful centrifugal force of urban sprawl. This has been the dominant trend since the last war (as yet there is no sign of a reversal of this trend), under which the population of inner city neighbourhoods of big cities falls while the suburban population increases. Compared to these centrifugal forces, gentrification is a relatively minor factor in accounting for new urban trends.

To understand and forecast these urban movements, it is important to analyze the profound structural changes society has undergone since the second world war. These

¹⁰ GALE. 1980. Op. cit.

¹¹ DANSEREAU-L'ÉCUYER. 1987. Op. cit.

¹² GRIER, G. and GRIER, E., *Urban Displacement: a Reconnaissance*. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

changes, as much social, and economic as demographic, have shaped today's restructured urban landscape.

1.4.1 Tertiariation

Since the end of the second world war, inner cities have been undergoing a progressive deindustrialization. Factory closures have been a regular occurrence in Montréal, especially in the east and southwest regions of the city. Manufacturing jobs are replaced by new jobs in the service sector, jobs which the newly released workers generally cannot fill.

The soft sectors (clothing, textiles, hosiery, etc.), faced with fierce competition from developing countries, are losing ground. Manufacturing industries are moving to other countries or at least to suburbs where the cost of land and transportation is lower. For the same reasons, new plants that require skilled manpower tend to be built in suburban areas or in the regions where the population is generally younger and better prepared to fill the new jobs.

In 1951, almost 38% of jobs held by residents of the Montréal CMA (census metropolitan area) were in manufacturing. In 1986, that proportion had fallen to only 21%. The City of Montréal (allowing for municipal annexations) has lost more than 60 000 residents holding manufacturing jobs, an average annual loss of more than 1 700. On the other hand, in the suburbs off the Island of Montréal, manufacturing jobs held by residents have increased by a yearly average of more than 3 000¹³.

However, the service sector has expanded extraordinarily. From 1971 to 1986, its relative share has increased from 63.1% to 75.0%, adding more than 441 000 jobs or an average annual increase of 30 000. The deindustrialization and tertiariation of the economy cannot be separated from phenomena such as gentrification and urban sprawl.

1.4.2 Declining birthrate

Structural demographic and social changes are just as important as economic restructuring in major urban trends. The declining birthrate in all industrialized countries is the most significant demographic change since the second world war. The total fertility rate is in free fall¹⁴. It has fallen from 3.85 children in Québec in 1951 to 1.99 in 1971 and 1.39 in 1986¹⁵. According to the latest data of the Bureau de la statistique du Québec, the rate rose slightly in 1988 and 1989¹⁶. There are many contributing factors: rejection of the system of values during the Quiet Revolution, easier contraception, the feminist movement demanding equity between men and women, the arrival of the consumer society where consumption often supplants traditional family values, etc. Childless couples and single persons, whose consumption patterns differ from those of families with children, are more interested by life in the city. They are attracted by the services the city has to offer, proximity to the workplace, the recreational and cultural opportunities, etc.

¹³ STATISTICS CANADA. Census of Canada, 1951 and 1986.

¹⁴ The total fertility rate is defined as the average number of children per woman of childbearing age (15 to 49).

¹⁵ PAQUETTE, Louise, *La situation socio-économique des femmes. Faits et chiffres*, Québec, Les Publications du Québec, Secrétariat à la condition féminine, Table 11.3.

¹⁶ Bureau de la statistique du Québec, *Perspectives démographiques du Québec et de ses régions 1986-2046*, Québec, Les Publications du Québec, 397 p.

1.4.3 Feminisation of work

The arrival of women on the labour market is another important change. The percentage of women in the labour force in Québec rose from 23.2% in 1951 to 33.3% in 1971 and reached 42.3% in 1987¹⁷. Soon, every second worker will be a woman. It is not easy to reconcile career and family, especially as support services are often inadequate. Family breakdown (separations and divorces) and free unions are indications of continuing significant changes in traditional family structures. Single-parent families have become more widespread in Québec, accounting for 14.4% of families in 1986. The vast majority of such single-parent families are headed by women, some of whom hold professional jobs. They tend to look for inner city locations close to work and to services¹⁸.

1.4.4 The increasing role of the state

The state has had a major influence on Québec society. In Québec, the 1960s opened the door to a greater and more lasting presence of the state. Universal free access to education and health services, and the proliferation of various social and economic programs in housing, culture and transportation also promoted urban restructuring. The huge increase in universities, CEGEPs, hospitals, clinics and CLSCs, especially in the inner city, contributed significantly to the tertiarisation of employment. The same is true of the creation of Hydro-Québec whose head office is in downtown Montréal and which employs a large number of specialists. The establishment of the CBC and Radio-Québec in the heart of the "cité des ondes" (the broadcasting district) has also helped to create many jobs in the inner city. The growth of the public sector together with the other structural changes has prompted many people to choose to live in downtown neighbourhoods.

1.4.5 Government policies and programs

Some policies have affected urban reorganization more directly, particularly in transportation and housing. The Montréal subway or metro, opened in 1967, now has about fifty stations, most of which serve older central neighbourhoods and the downtown office area. Major highway development, on the other hand, has encouraged industrial growth in the suburbs and, consequently, urban sprawl¹⁹.

Generous housing programs were also introduced during the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s (LRH, COOPs and NPOs, CRSP, LOGINOVE). These programs specifically targetted older neighbourhoods with rundown housing and needy households. In addition to these are certain municipal programs and heritage protection programs. In at least one case, Milton Park, a link can be established between public investment and massive rehabilitation in a section of the inner city. Some authors²⁰ maintain that public authorities are often the initiators of gentrification. They initiate the movement, and are followed by private investors.

¹⁷ PAQUETTE, Louise, 1989. Op. cit. Table 11.1.

¹⁸ ROSE, Damaris, 1987. Op. cit.

¹⁹ DGU. *L'urbanisation dans la conurbation montréalaise: tendances actuelles et propositions d'orientation*. Montréal, ministère des Affaires municipales, 63 p.

²⁰ LEY, David, *Gentrification in Canadian Inner Cities: Patterns, Analysis, Impacts and Policy*. CMHC, Vancouver, 210 p.

1.4.6 Economic events

Finally, major economic events have also had an influence on the population. Consumers had to deal with two energy crises in the 1970s. In 1973, the Arab embargo caused oil prices to quadruple, leading to a wage-price spiral. The wage and price control measures introduced in 1975 did not wring inflation out of the economy. Another energy shock occurred in 1979, followed, in 1981, by the Bank of Canada's restrictive monetary policy to deal with inflation once and for all. Interest rates, which had hovered around the 10% mark during the 1970s, rose to near 20% while unemployment soared. The economy was in recession.

To protect themselves against economic hard times in the future, many households decided to protect their savings by buying a home. Demand pressures are heavy on new and existing housing. The low price of housing in older inner city neighbourhoods, together with the expectation of further deterioration of their purchasing power, prompted many households to become homeowners.

1.5 Measure and extent of the phenomenon

Gentrification has received much media attention and prompted much discussion and emotional reaction. So it seems important to evaluate the extent of the phenomenon, which some authors have attempted to do with more or less success.

One kind of measure is to examine the change in social status or income level in inner city neighbourhoods. American studies, such as that by D. Chall (1984)²¹ on New York and that of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)²², use this type of measure, but fail to highlight this phenomenon; on the contrary, the movement of inner city / suburb ratios would tend to favour the latter. However, in Québec, Damaris Rose has noted an increased presence of professionals in certain neighbourhoods of Montréal²³. In Canada, David Ley has measured the change in social status of residents of inner city neighbourhoods in Canada between 1971 and 1981 based on the number of university graduates and specialized white collar workers (administrators, professionals, technicians)²⁴. The change in the inner city / suburb ratio indicates that there has in fact been a change in social status in all the cities examined. The highest gentrification levels were found in Halifax, Ottawa, Vancouver, Toronto, Montréal and Edmonton.

Another type of measurement has been to examine the extent of renovations and their impact on prices and rents. For renovation, the phenomenon would not be significant. An American study estimates that 5% of the inner city housing stock was renovated in 1979²⁵.

²¹ CHALL, D., 1984. "Neighborhood Changes in New York City During the 1970s", *Quarterly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York*, Winter 1983-84, 38-48.

²² US DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (HUD), 1981. *Residential Displacement - An Update*, Washington, D.C., Office of Policy Development and Research.

²³ ROSE, D., 1987. Op. cit.7

²⁴ LEY, D., 1985. Op. cit.

²⁵ CLAY, P.L., 1979b. Op. cit.

Price increases (value or rent) would be caused more by macroeconomic or national phenomena than by local phenomena²⁶.

As for conversions of rental housing to co-ownership, the HUD survey in the United States²⁷ shows that the volume of activity was greater in some metropolitan regions (5.4% and 7% respectively of the rental stock in inner city zones of Chicago and Washington, D.C. were affected). The phenomenon seems to be on the rise and close to 70% of conversions in the 1970s occurred during the last three years (1977 to 1979). In Québec, the phenomenon has been concentrated in the Montréal region. Before 1975, about 1 500 rental units in the region had been converted into condominiums²⁸. After the imposition of a moratorium on conversions in December 1975, undivided co-ownership became increasingly popular. In 1981, INRS-Urbanisation said 10 000 units in Québec had been converted²⁹.

However, the literature indicates that gentrification is not as strong or as widespread a phenomenon as some perceptions and media coverage would lead us to believe. It is highly localized so that it does not show up in aggregate data. Gentrification has yet to alter the dominant trend of recent decades, namely the flight to the suburbs. The number of households wishing to leave the centre core is substantially greater than the number wishing to move in. However, the more affluent classes are more receptive to the idea of moving into the centre, which is the first sign of a change in household preferences³⁰.

We are therefore dealing with a fairly marginal phenomenon. Kasarda³¹ estimates these new residents represent less than 1% of the population of American inner cities. In addition, the vast majority of them are from the inner city and not from the suburbs³².

1.6 Research goals

Very few authors, David Ley³³ being a notable exception, have tried to measure the extent of gentrification or the conversion of rental housing to ownership in Montréal. In addition,

²⁶ DE GIOVANNI, F.F., 1983. "Patterns of Change in Housing Market Activity in Revitalizing Neighborhoods". *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 49, n° 1, Winter 1983, 22-38.

²⁷ HUD (1980), *The Conversion of Rental Housing to Condominiums and Cooperatives*, Washington, D.C., USGPO, June, 331 p.

²⁸ DANSEREAU, F. and GODBOUT, J., 1981. *La transformation d'immeubles locatifs en copropriété d'habitation*. Montréal, INRS-Urbanisation, 157 p.

²⁹ FORTIN, Louise and GODBOUT, J., 1980. *Étude de la formule coopérative et de la copropriété indivise*. Montréal, INRS-Urbanisation, Études et documents, n° 19, 104 p.

³⁰ ABRAVINEL, Martin and MANCINI, Paul D., 1980. "Urban Revitalization: Attitudinal and Demographic Constraints", in DONALD B. ROSENTHAL (ed.): 27-47.

³¹ KASARDA, John, 1980. "Urban Rebirth: Beware of Limits Says Study", *Journal of Housing*, (November): 28.

³² GALE, D.E., 1984. Op. cit.

³³ LEY, David, 1985. Op. cit.

very few have attempted to compare gentrification and urban exodus in Montréal³⁴, a comparison that is necessary for a better understanding of the urban restructuring that has been taking place in the region since the early 1970s.

The American literature deals with gentrification as a relatively marginal phenomenon that operates in isolation. Using the latest data of the 1986 census, we wanted to check whether changes in trends since 1971 confirmed that hypothesis in the Montréal region.

This research is essentially quantitative. Its objectives are the following:

- 1° Check whether gentrification has become noticeable at the aggregate level in Montréal. To do so, we divided the metropolitan region into seven zones. Then, for each zone, we examined the change over 15 years (from 1971 to 1986) in variables generally associated with the phenomenon (university graduates, professional jobs, investment in renovation, residential unit values).
- 2° Examine, from a demographic perspective, movements that indicate diminished interest on the part of different socio-demographic groups (children, young adults, baby boomers, empty-nesters, the elderly), and their residential location choices in the metropolitan area. In particular, we wanted to check whether persons in the 25-44 age group were resisting the exodus from the inner city, which would tend to support gentrification.
- 3° See whether home-ownership was a significant phenomenon in Mid-Island Montréal. We estimate the number of rental units converted to ownership between 1971 to 1986.

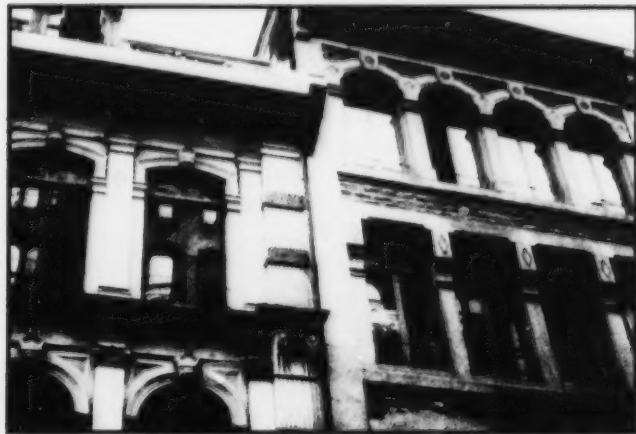
Section 2 which follows explains how we determined our analysis zones according to various criteria. These zones will then be used for the comparative analysis. Section 3 establishes the socio-demographic features and evolution of each zone. It discusses mainly the depopulation of the Mid-Island, the location choices of various age groups, the gentrification actors and changes in tenure by households. We then examine, in section 4, the more visible signs of gentrification, such as investment in residential renovation and the phenomenon of demolition-replacement in Mid-Island zones. The increase in property values in gentrified sectors is discussed. Finally, in the conclusion (section 5), we provide some answers to various questions raised by the research on gentrification and conversion of rental housing to ownership.

³⁴ FILION, Pierre, 1987a. "Concepts of the Inner City and Recent Trends in Canada", *The Canadian Geographer*, 31: 223-32.

Photo 2
Cours le Royer in Vieux-Montréal



Photo 3
New housing near the Vieux-Port



In Vieux-Montréal, near the Vieux-Port, old warehouses have been converted into condominiums. Most of the residents hold professional jobs in the downtown core.

2 DETERMINATION OF ANALYSIS ZONES OF THE METROPOLITAN MONTRÉAL AREA

Gentrification seems to be related to structural demographic changes of the inner city. Taking this principle into account, we divided the Montréal metropolitan region, for comparison purposes, into seven analysis zones, including three in its central region (see Map 1).

The boundaries of the zones were drawn on the basis of criteria linked to the centre's attraction. These criteria are:

1. population density;
2. presence of a stock of older housing (pre-1946);
3. distance from the downtown core;
4. adjacency of municipalities;
5. area covered by the ban on co-ownership conversions (CUM).

The first three criteria essentially reflect the degree of urbanization of the area being studied. A place with a high population density located near the downtown core is highly urbanized. The proportion of older housing completes the information on the urban fabric. Such an area can be very attractive to a certain segment of the population (many services, close to green spaces, office buildings, recreational and cultural centres, etc.).

The fourth criterion implies that the analysis zones keep to municipal boundaries. However, that is not the case for the City of Montréal because of its extensive area within the CUM. The reader will appreciate that neighbourhoods such as East Montréal (Rivière-des-Prairies and Pointes-aux-Trembles) have nothing in common with the Plateau Mont-Royal and the Centre³⁵. That is why they belong to a different zone. However, in most cases, the boundaries of City of Montréal planning neighbourhoods have been observed.

Finally, the fifth criterion prevents a zone from overlapping the Island of Montréal (CUM) and regions off the island. This decision was taken to enable a comparative analysis of CUM zones with those outside the CUM. The recent government decision (December 1987) to prohibit co-ownership conversions within the CUM (Bill 87) is the main reason for this choice.

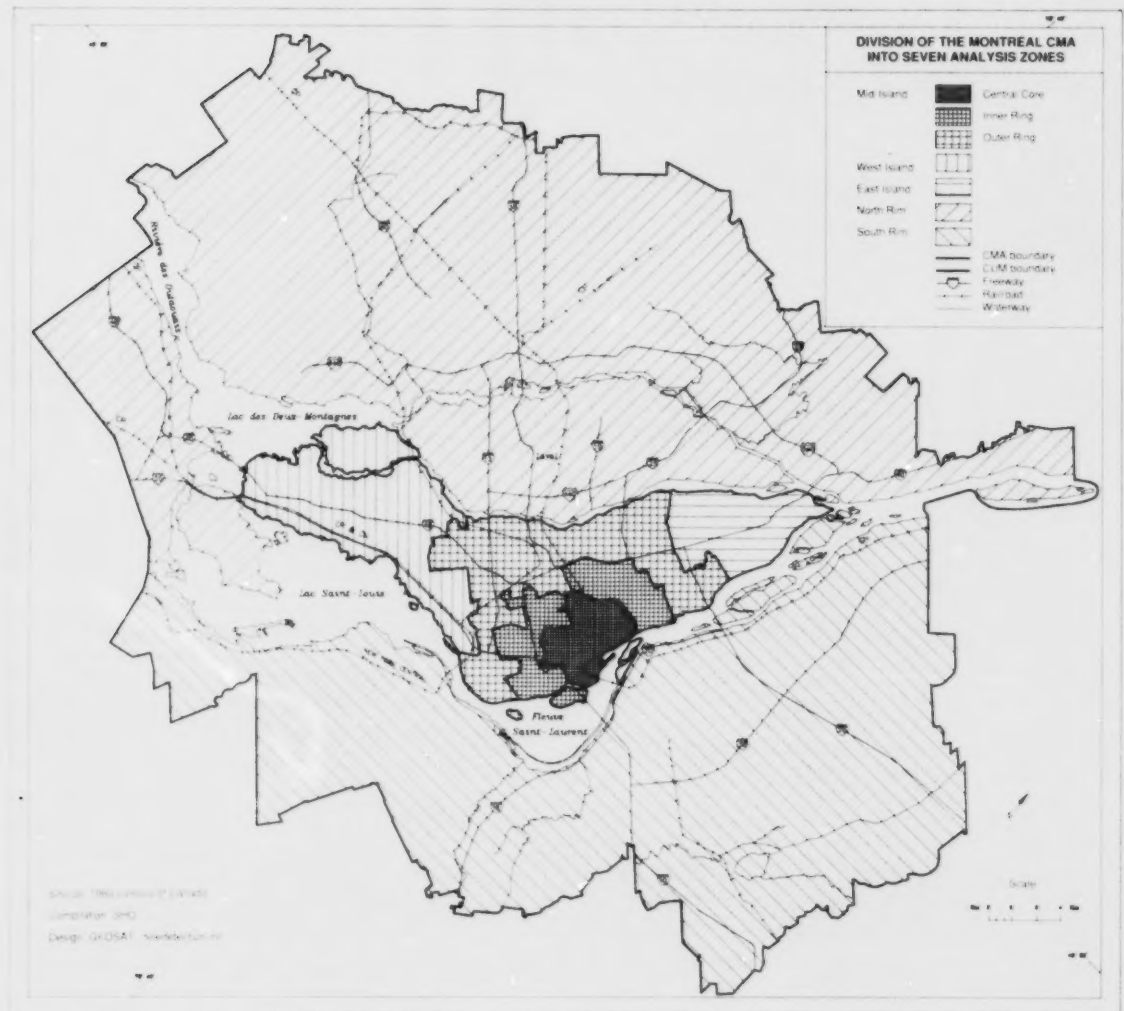
2.1 The Mid-Island

What we will call the Mid-Island extends roughly from Montréal-Ouest to Saint-Léonard and from the St. Lawrence to the Prairies Rivers. Far from being arbitrary, this geographical entity resulted mainly from a cluster analysis of census areas on the basis of our first criterion, population density.

³⁵ The Ville de Montréal is divided into planning areas (e.g.: Plateau Mont-Royal) which are themselves divided into planning neighbourhoods (e.g.: Mile End). For the purposes of this study, we used the territorial division of the Ville de Montréal as defined in 1987.

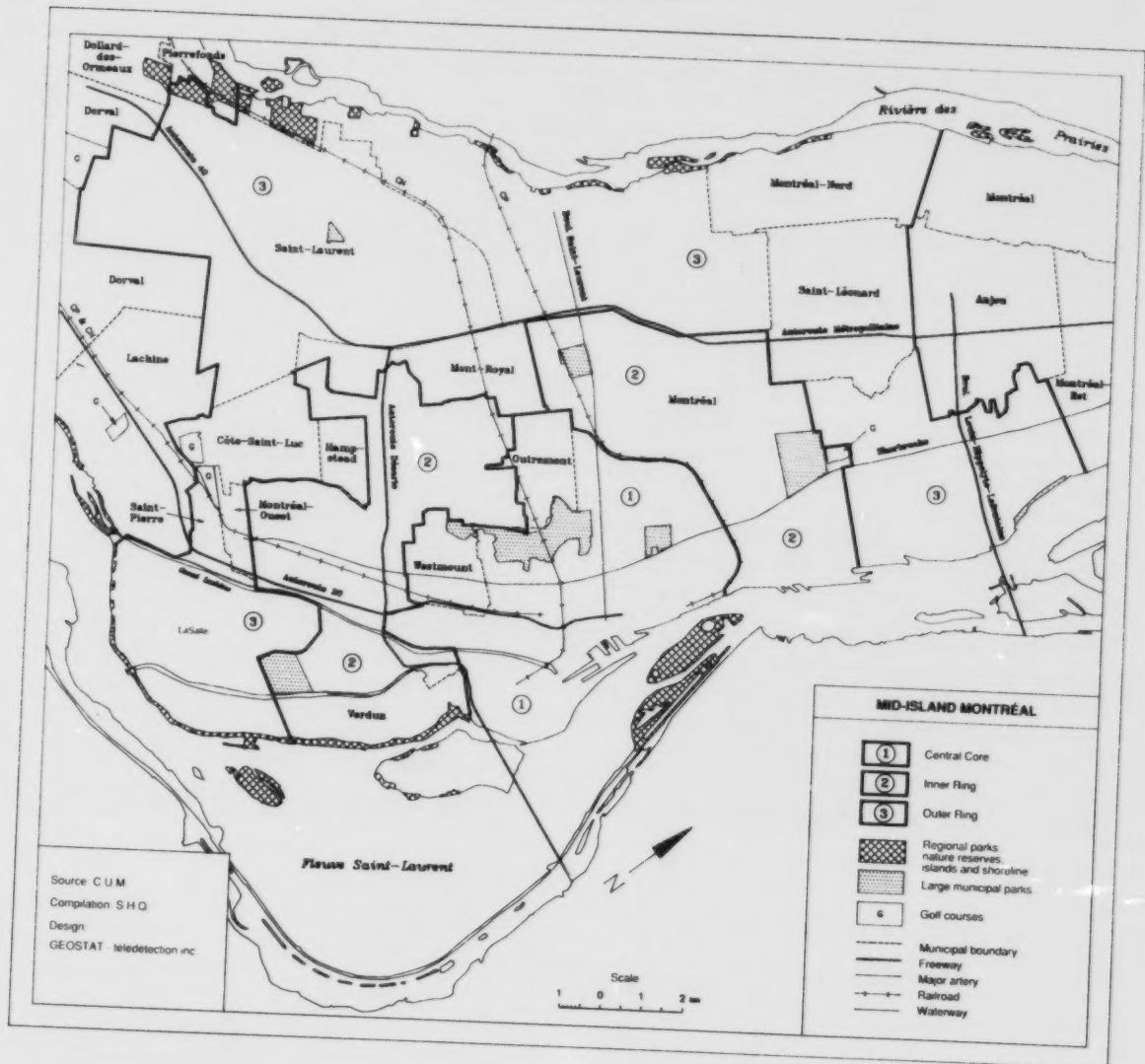
Cluster analysis was again used, but in relation to the criteria of distance from the downtown core and proportion of older housing, to subdivide the Mid-Island into three zones: the Central Core, the Inner Ring³⁶ and the Outer Ring (see Map 2).

Map 1
Division of the Montréal CMA into Seven Analysis Zones



³⁶ In this text, the expression "inner city" means the Central Core and the Inner Ring.

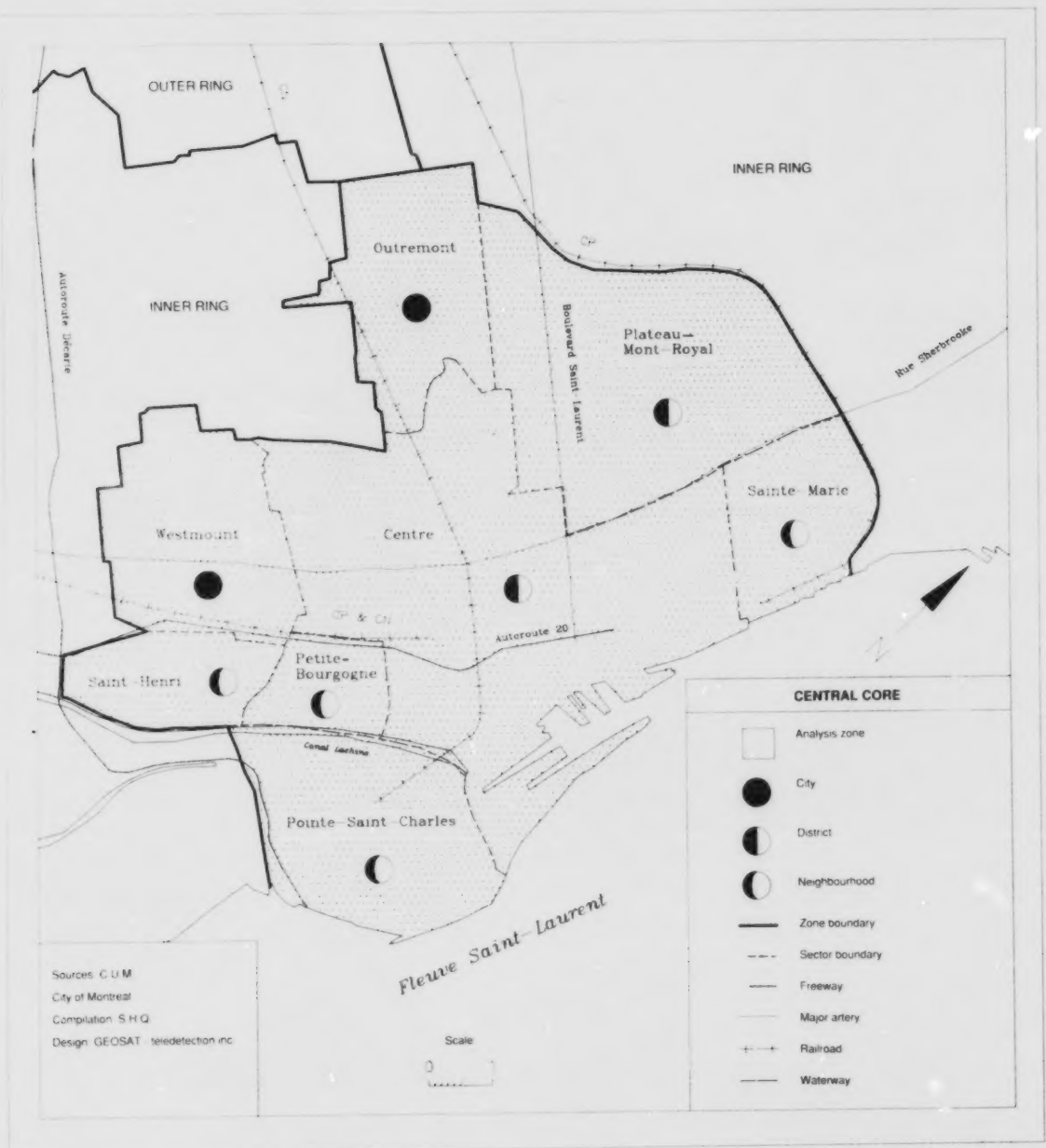
Map 2
Mid-Island Montréal



2.1.1 The Central Core

The Central Core has historically been a very attractive zone and has maintained a very high population density and a large proportion of old and very old housing. Residents of this zone are close to the business district and hence office jobs, and can take advantage of a multiplicity of services.

Map 3
Central Core



Twenty-five subway stations and many bus routes make travel to and within the Central Core easy. In addition, many large hospitals (Saint-Luc, Hôtel-Dieu, Notre-Dame, etc.), universities (UQAM, McGill, Concordia) and both public and private colleges (Dawson, Vieux-Montréal, La Salle, Collège de Montréal, etc.) are located there.

The Central Core boasts large parks such as Mount Royal and Lafontaine, the Vieux Port, part of the Lachine Canal national park (bicycle path, picnic ground) and, on the St. Lawrence, the Notre-Dame island nature reserve and St. Helen's island. Finally, a large number of theatres, cinemas, libraries, concert halls, art galleries, etc. are concentrated in the Central Core.

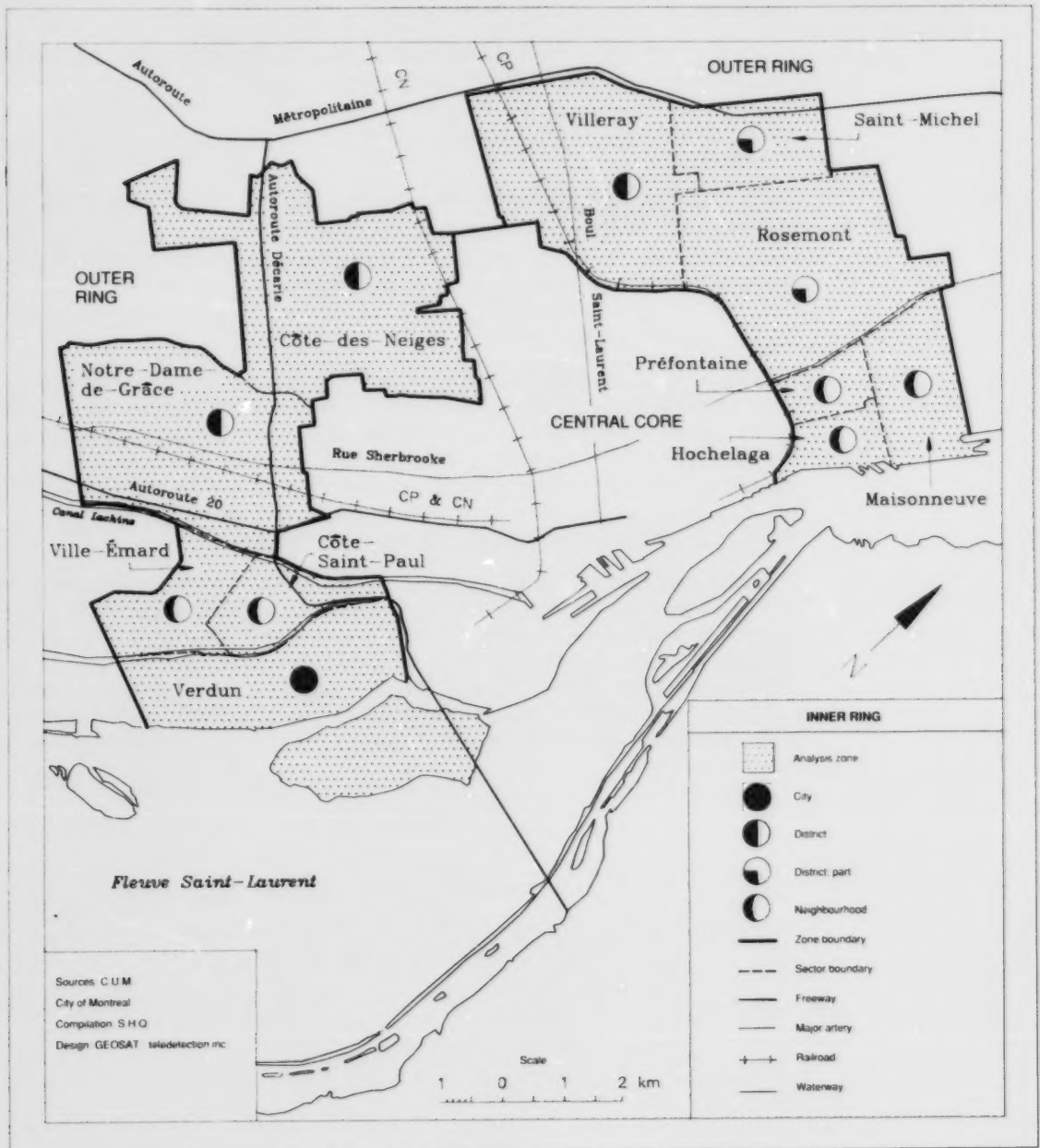
The Central Core covers all of the cities of Outremont and Westmount. In the City of Montréal, it includes the Centre and Plateau Mont-Royal districts, the Saint-Henri, Pointe-Saint-Charles and Petite Bougogne (or Georges Vanier) neighbourhoods to the south-west and the Sainte-Marie (south-central part) neighbourhood.

2.1.2 The Inner Ring

The zone we have called the Inner Ring is located outside and adjacent to the Central Core, without completely surrounding it. This zone includes the city of Verdun to the southwest and the neighbourhoods of Côte-Saint-Paul and Ville-Émard. To the west, it includes the districts of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce and, to the northwest, Côte-des-Neiges. To the north, it extends up to the metropolitan freeway, including all of the Villeray and part of the Saint-Michel districts. To the east, it covers the Rosemont district and, to the southeast, the Hochelaga, Préfontaine and Maisonneuve neighbourhoods.

This zone has a slightly higher population density than the Central Core and its stock of housing is fairly old. However, it does not have the same advantages as the Central Core in terms of proximity to the office district, services and green spaces. There are fewer hospitals, higher education institutions, theatres, cinemas, art galleries, restaurants and other sociocultural services. However, the mass transit system is highly developed, with as many subway stations as the Central Core and many bus routes. This zone also boasts some large parks: Maisonneuve (east), Jarry (north) and Angrignon (west), as well as the Botanical Garden.

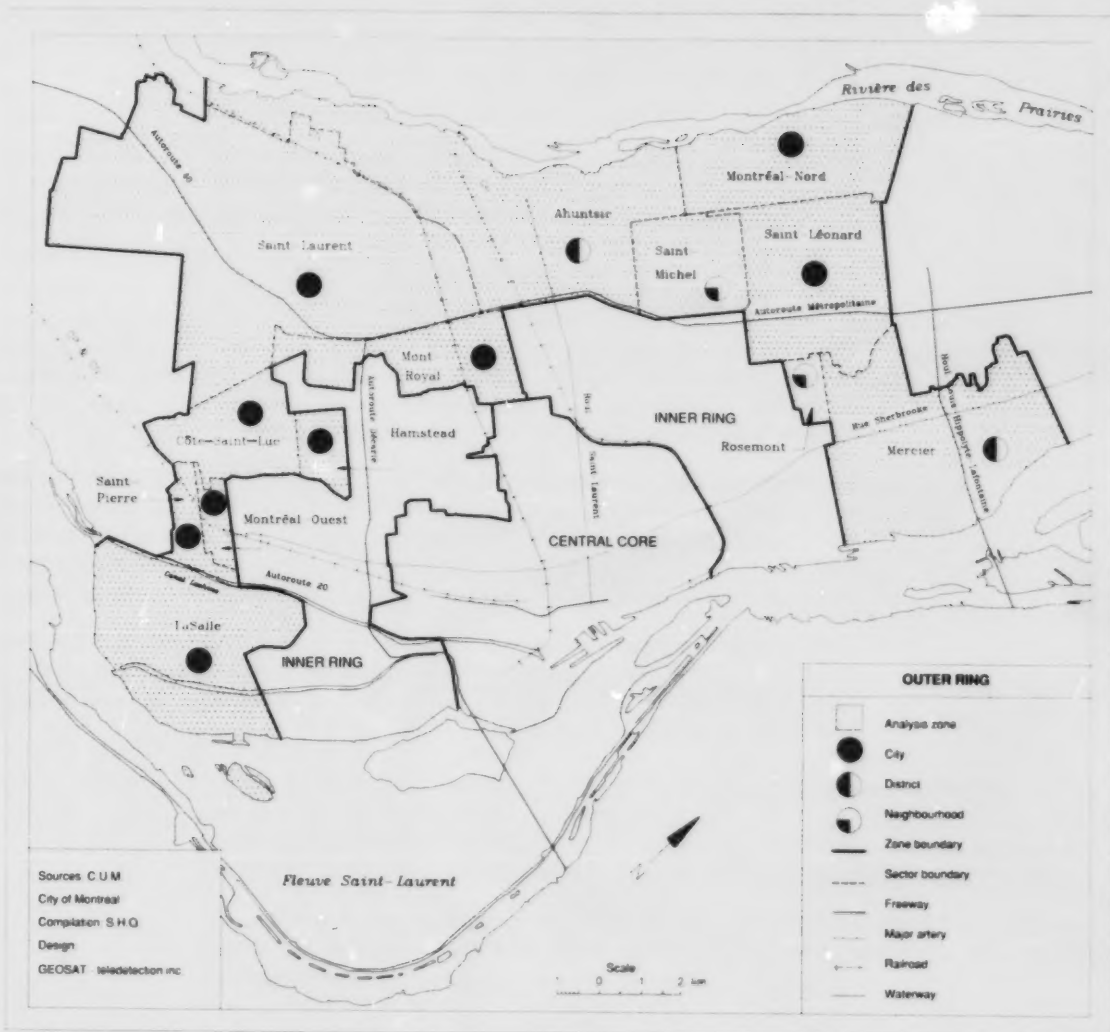
Map 4
Inner Ring



2.1.3 Outer Ring

This zone includes, to the southwest, the city of LaSalle; to the west, the cities of Saint-Pierre, Montréal-Ouest, Hampstead and Côte-Saint-Luc; to the northwest, the municipalities of Mount-Royal and Saint-Laurent; to the north, the district of Ahuntsic between the metropolitan freeway and the Prairies River; to the northeast, the cities of Montréal-Nord and Saint-Léonard; and to the east, the district of Mercier.

Map 5
Outer Ring



The Outer Ring is the last zone of the Mid-Island. Beyond this zone, downtown is not as attractive because of its distance. In terms of area, this zone is much larger than the two previous ones. Its population density is only half that of the Central Core and the Inner Ring, and its housing stock is not as old.

This zone is not as well served by public transit as either the Central Core or the Inner Ring. Only about ten subway stations serve this large area, though this is offset to some extent by the presence of rapid bus lines (metrobus) to the boundaries of the Outer Ring. However, in the 1990s, the subway system will be extended to Montréal-Nord and Cartierville. This will appreciably reduce travelling time to the centre core for users.

The Outer Ring is less well equipped than the inner city in terms of sociocultural services (theatres, cinemas, etc.), hospitals, higher education institutions, and even large parks. However, the Prairies river shoreline is an attractive asset with its little parks and the recently developed regional park on Visitation Island. A bicycle path follows the river from east to west, with many picnic areas for strollers.

2.2 Outer Island

The Outer Island is divided into two parts: the western end of the island and the eastern end. The first is usually associated with its high proportion of anglophones, while the second is home to an essentially francophone population (see Map 6).

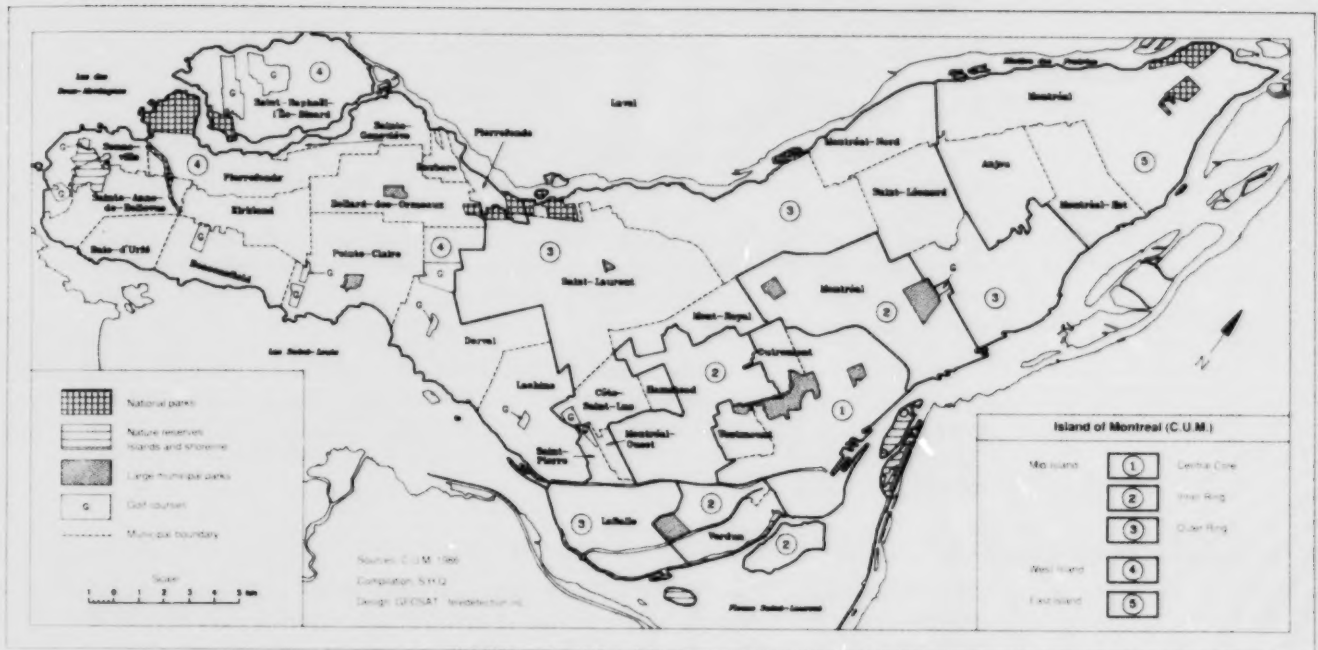
2.2.1 The West Island

This zone consists mainly of single-family dwellings and has a relatively low population density (seven to eight times less than the Mid-Island). About 10% of its housing stock pre-dates 1946. It is rather poorly served by public transit (bus and train only), though its road network is extensive (the 20, 40 and 13 (Mirabel) freeways).

The West Island includes, to the east, the municipalities of Lachine, Dorval, Pierrefonds and Dollard-des-Ormeaux. To the southwest, it is bounded by Lake Saint-Louis along which many municipalities have grown over the years. To the northeast are the Prairies River and the Lake Deux-Montagnes. Residents of this zone have abundant opportunities for water sports (sailing, fishing, etc.) as a result of the numerous bodies of water.

This zone also includes the impressive regional Saint-Jacques park and, at the western tip, McDonald College, whose experimental farm and the Morgan arboretum attract many visitors. All these items help raise the quality of life of residents of the West Island, who have the pleasures of country living in the city.

Map 6
Island of Montréal (CUM)



2.2.2 East Island

The eastern end of the island is fairly comparable to the western end in terms of population density, but the stock of housing is a little more recent. This zone is being developed rapidly, particularly in the Rivière-des-Prairies and Pointe-aux-Trembles neighbourhoods which still have much open space available for residential development.

In addition to the two neighbourhoods of the City of Montréal mentioned above, the East Island includes the municipalities of Anjou and Montréal-Est with their extensive industrial zones (refineries).

The industrial zone of Montréal-Est curbs residential development in this city and its environs because of air pollution, noise caused by transport trucks, etc. On the other hand, the Rivière-des-Prairies and Pointe-aux-Trembles neighbourhoods offer residents attractive views and access to bodies of water, which, however, are not suitable for water sports.

The quality of life is enhanced by two large regional parks, the Bois-de-la-Réparation and Rivière-des-Prairies regional park. Buses are the only form of public transit, while the only expressway is the 40, with its notorious congestion problems.

2.3 Off-Island metropolitan region

This zone has been the scene of extensive urban sprawl and has been included in the analysis for comparison purposes. It is important to highlight the centrifugal and centripetal forces active in the various urban movements over the past fifteen years or so. This region has been divided into two zones: the North Rim and South Rim.

2.3.1 The North Rim

Of all the zones studied, the North Rim had the lowest population density in 1981. Almost one quarter of the area of this zone belongs to Laval (Jésus Island), the second-largest city in Québec. The population is concentrated along a band between the no. 13 freeway (Chomedey), the no. 25 freeway (at the Pie-IX bridge), Saint-Martin Boulevard and the Prairies River³⁷. The population density (3 694.1/km²) there is ten times higher than in the rest of the zone, so that this band is closer to the Outer Ring of the Mid-Island as far as urban concentration is concerned.

Essentially, the road network has enabled the North Rim to spread since the beginning of the 1970s. In addition to the Autoroute des Laurentides (15), there is now the no. 13 freeway (Mirabel), the no. 25 freeway (towards Terrebonne, Mascouche, etc.), the no. 40 freeway (towards Repentigny) and beltways such as the 440 (Laval) and the 640 (from Repentigny to Oka).

2.3.2 The South Rim

Like the North Rim, the South Rim has a very low population density. Similarly, the band along the waterfront (Longueuil, Saint-Lambert, Lemoyne) resembles the Outer Ring of the Mid-Island as far as population density is concerned.

The road network has been under constant development for the past fifteen years, accentuating urban sprawl in this zone (freeways no. 20, 10, 30, highway no. 15, etc.).

The following table recapitulates the analysis zones, giving the population density and proportion of older housing for each one.

³⁷ This is essentially the urbanized core of the City of Laval.

Table 1
Population Density and Proportion of Pre-1946 Housing,
by Analysis Zone of the Montréal Census
Metropolitan Area (CMA)

Analysis zones	Population density in 1986 (population/km ²)	Proportion of pre-1946 housing (in 1981) (%)
Mid-Island		
Central Core	7 031	59.3
Inner Ring	8 230	40.6
Outer Ring	4 047	8.0
Outer Island		
West Island	1 320	10.2
East Island	1 730	5.9
Off-Island CMA		
North Rim	348	7.4
South Rim	461	8.0
Montréal CMA	833	21.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 and 1986 censuses, Montréal census metropolitan area (CMA). Author's compilation.

Photo 4
Notice of conversion of units to co-ownership



Photo 5
Older dwellings in the Sud-Ouest district



Two young professionals acquired this duplex in co-ownership (lower photo) with the intention of renovating and each occupying part of it (upper photo).

3 FEATURES AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF ANALYSIS ZONES

Since the early 1970s, the metropolitan Montréal region has undergone significant socio-demographic changes. Gentrification is an important phenomenon in this regard. The question is to decide where it fits in with the other active forces. But first, what are these major changes, and where have they occurred? Of course, we are especially interested in noticeable population movements. Where do young households live, the elderly, baby boomers? This and the study of changes in tenure should enable us to estimate the extent of gentrification in the Central Core of Montréal.

The socio-demographic changes that have occurred in our analysis zones between 1971 and 1986 will now be compared. The changes will be analyzed through a chronology of economic and structural events during this period.

3.1 Declining population in the centre

In 1971, the population of the metropolitan Montréal region was 2 734 568, of which more than 60% lived in the Mid-Island. The demographic weight of the centre was therefore very great at that time (see Diagram 1). However, urban sprawl was already under way and the population of the suburban Off-Island zone rose by 50% or almost 390 000, between 1971 and 1986. On the other hand, the Mid-Island lost more than 15% of its population during this period. The loss was even greater in the Central Core and the Inner Ring at 25% during the same period (see Map 7).

Before 1971, though it failed to keep pace with the suburbs, the population of the Mid-Island rose substantially³⁸. The real exodus started only in the early 1970s. The demographic weight of the suburbs and outlying zones is now slightly greater than that of the inner city.

There is no better indicator of the centrifugal forces acting on the centre than the decline in the population of the Mid-Island from 1971 to 1986 (almost 250 000 or an annual average of about 17 000). The attraction of the low density of suburban and outlying regions continues to be the dominant post-war urban phenomenon.

³⁸ Between 1951 and 1971, the Mid-Island increased its population by almost 500 000 while the suburbs (Off-Island CMA) registered a gain of about 700 000 (see Leblanc, Raynald, (1980). *Migrations intermunicipales et développement de la banlieue dans la région métropolitaine de recensement de Montréal de 1956 à 1976*, Master's thesis, Université de Montréal, March 1980, 143 p.

3.2 Change in age groups

We now consider how the centre's decline has been distributed across various age groups. As we will see, the make-up of certain analysis zones has changed fairly drastically since 1971.

First of all, in 1971, the demographic composition of the centre is older than that of the outlying and suburban regions. Of every ten people living in the centre, about two were children (0-14) compared to three in regions outside the centre (see Table 2).

Diagram 1
Relative and Absolute Population by Major Sector of the Montréal CMA
in 1971 and 1986

Zone	1971		1986	
Mid-Island	61 %	1 672 855	48 %	1 412 936
			12 %	336 709
Outer Island	10 %	281 554	40 %	1 168 775
Off-Island	29 %	780 159		
Total	100 %	780 159	100 %	2 918 420

Source: Statistics Canada
Compilation: SHQ.
Design: GEOSAT-téledétection inc.

Map 7
Population Gains and Losses in the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986

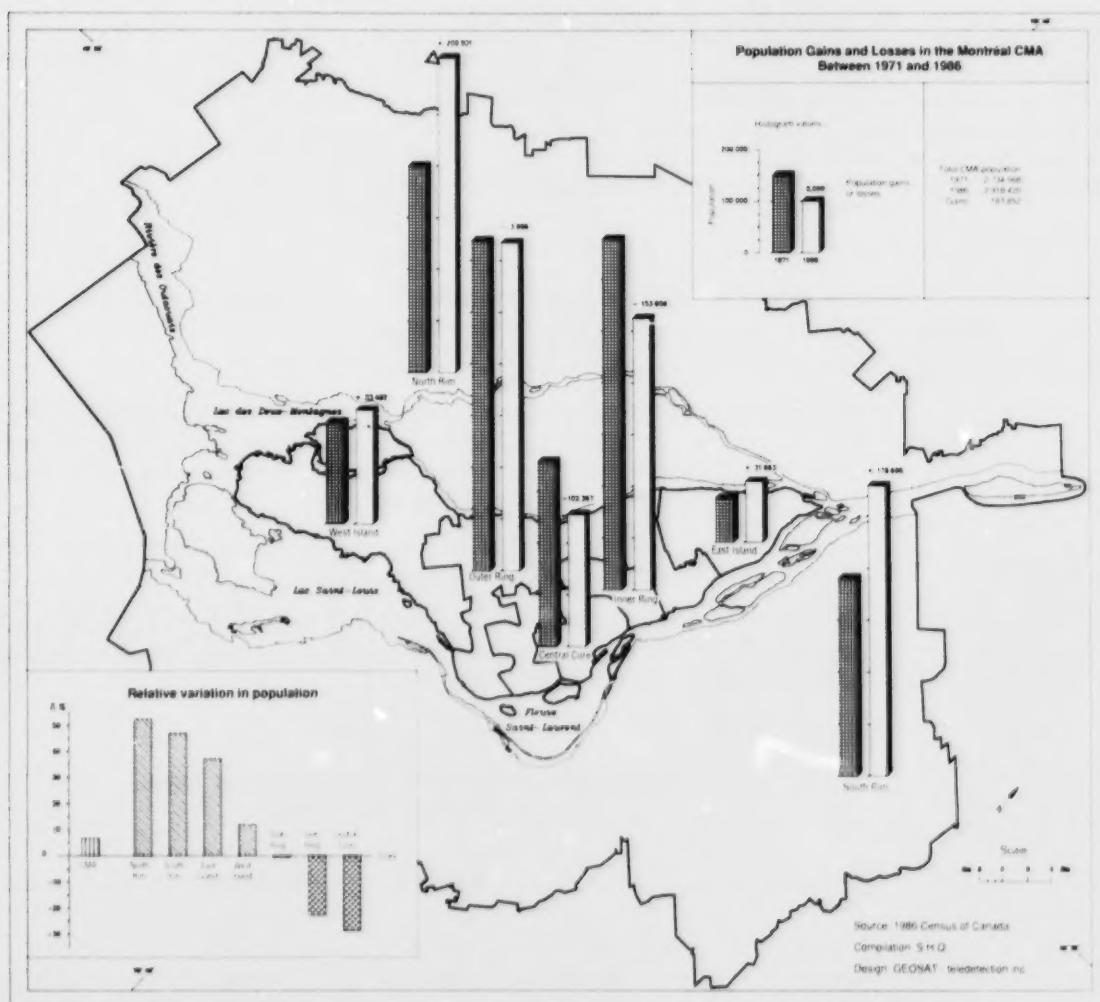


Table 2
Demographic Composition of Major Analysis Zones
of the Montréal CMA in 1971

Age Group	CMA	Mid-Island	Outer Island	Off-Island CMA
0 - 14	27,4 %	23,6 %	31,9 %	33,9 %
15 - 24	18,3 %	18,9 %	17,2 %	17,2 %
25 - 44	28,3 %	27,6 %	28,8 %	29,6 %
45 - 64	19,1 %	21,3 %	17,3 %	15,0 %
65 or +	6,9 %	8,5 %	4,8 %	4,4 %
Total	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %

Source: Results compiled by the authors from 1971 census data.

The percentages for the age groups at the other extremity of the age pyramid, i.e. the 45-64 and 65 or over age groups, confirm the relative old age of the population of the Mid-Island in 1971. In the centre, three in every ten people were in the last two age groups, compared to two in every ten people outside the centre of the island.

The proportion of people in the 15-24 and 25-44 age groups showed little variation in 1971 between the centre and the suburbs or outlying regions.

The distribution of age groups in 1986 clearly shows the effects of the general aging of the population (see Table 3). However, the remarks on the relative old age of the Mid-Island remain as valid as ever in 1986.

Table 3
Demographic Composition of Major Analysis Zones
of the Montréal CMA in 1986

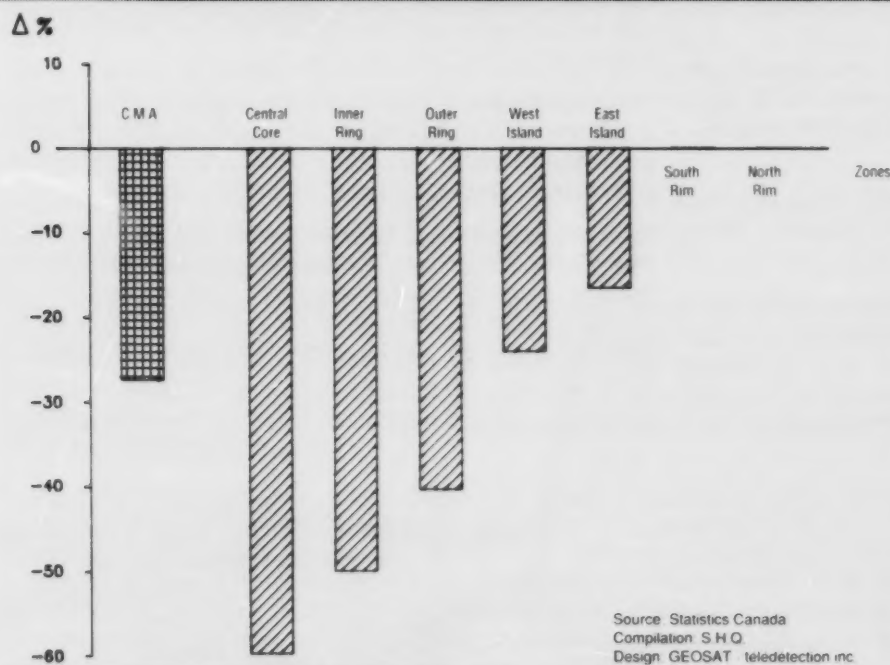
Age Group	CMA	Mid-Island	Outer Island	Off-Island CMA
0 - 14	18,6 %	14,6 %	20,9 %	22,9 %
15 - 24	16,3 %	16,6 %	16,0 %	16,2 %
25 - 44	33,8 %	32,1 %	34,0 %	35,9 %
45 - 64	21,0 %	22,9 %	20,8 %	18,8 %
65 or +	10,2 %	13,8 %	8,4 %	6,4 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Results compiled by the authors from 1986 census data.

3.2.1 What has become of the children?

The total population of the CMA increased by about 180 000 (6.7%) between 1971 and 1986. In spite of this growth, there are 200 000 fewer children in 1986, a decline of 27.4% from 1971. More than 90% of this loss is attributable to the Mid-Island. That is an average of more than 1 000 fewer children every month. What has become of the children? In the Central Core, in the heart of the Mid-Island, there is an alarming drop in population of the 0-14 age group. For every five children at the beginning of the 1970s, there are now only 2 (a loss of close to 60%). The only zones not to suffer a decline in the absolute number of children are the North Rim and South Rim which have been astonishingly stable in this regard (see Chart 1).

Chart 1
Variation (%) in the number of children (0-14)
by analysis zone of the Montréal CMA between 1971 and 1986



The dramatic decline in the number of children in the Central Core is largely attributable to two phenomena: the exodus of population in their child-bearing years, and the falling birthrate. The latter affects the entire metropolitan region. However, the exodus of the adult population in their child-rearing years to the suburbs can only accentuate the relatively significant drop in the number of children in the centre.

We wanted to evaluate the falling birthrate as such by isolating the effect of population movements such as the exodus. To do so, we calculated the children/adults ratio, that is, the number of children (0 to 15) over the adult population from 20 to 44. Table 4 shows how this ratio has changed from 1971 to 1986. In 1971, there is a considerable difference between the three zones of the Mid-Island and the other zones. For instance, in 1971, for every ten adults in the North Rim there were nine children. In comparison, in the Central Core, there were only six children for every ten adults. In 1986, for the same two zones, there were respectively five and between two and three (2.6) children for every ten adults.

The three central zones, Central Core, Inner Ring and Outer Ring, differ only slightly in terms of the children/adults ratio in 1971. However, it is apparent that by 1986, the Central Core has suffered a larger loss than the other two zones. It also differs from all other zones in terms of relative variations.

These measurements show that between 1971 and 1986, there has been a specific change in the population of child-rearing age in the Central Core. It may be demographic (different proportion of women, of single persons, etc.), or sociological (greater preference than elsewhere for childless families, for instance) in nature.

The significant decline in the child population of the Central Core therefore does not result solely from the exodus of parents to the suburbs and the generally falling birthrate. The fact that there is only one child for every eight adults is also due to the fact that something else has happened in this zone and nowhere else. And the drop in the number of children is a major factor in explaining the significant decline in the population.

Table 4
Change in the Ratio of Children Age 0 to 15 / Adults Age 20 to 44
in Analysis Zones in 1971 and 1986

Zone	Children/adults ratio 1971	Children/adults ratio 1986	Difference	Relative variation %
CMA	0,7318	0,4326	-,2992	-40,89
Core	0,6094	0,2630	-,3464	-56,84
Inner	0,5906	0,3363	-,2543	-43,06
Outer	0,6678	0,3925	-,2753	-41,22
West	0,8875	0,5131	-,3744	-42,19
East	0,8540	0,4522	-,4018	-47,05
South Rim	0,8933	0,5168	-,3765	-42,15
North Rim	0,9315	0,5166	-,4149	-44,54

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Author's compilation.

3.2.2 Adults' choices

While the falling birthrate is a major contributor to the decline in the population of the Mid-Island and particularly of the Central Core, the adult population also must bear some responsibility in terms of its decision to settle in the suburbs. In 1971, two thirds of the adult population of the CMA (15 or over) lived in the Mid-Island; by 1986, this had fallen to one half. During this period, adults demonstrated a marked preference for the Off-Island and East Island zones.

The attraction of the Off-Island and East Island zones was shared by all age groups: young adults (15 to 24), baby boomers (25 to 44), the 45 to 64 age group and seniors (65 or over).

The pattern of change between 1971 and 1986 for these age groups was varied. The seniors group showed the greatest increase. While decline in children was significant, it pales in comparison with the relative increase in the elderly³⁹. The aging of the population is the dominant element in demographic trends in Québec. This is the case everywhere, including the metropolitan Montréal region, where the number of seniors has grown by 107 880 (56.8%) between 1971 and 1986.

The next group, those from 45 to 64, is often likened to "empty nest" households, i.e. whose children have left. The population of this group grew by more than 90 000 between 1971 and 1986 for the entire metropolitan region, amounting to a relative increase of 17.5%.

In 1986, the 25-44 age group was the largest in the metropolitan region (one out of every three persons). It grew by 212 745 or 27.5% during the analysis period. The number of young adults dropped slightly, declining by 20 000 or less than 5%.

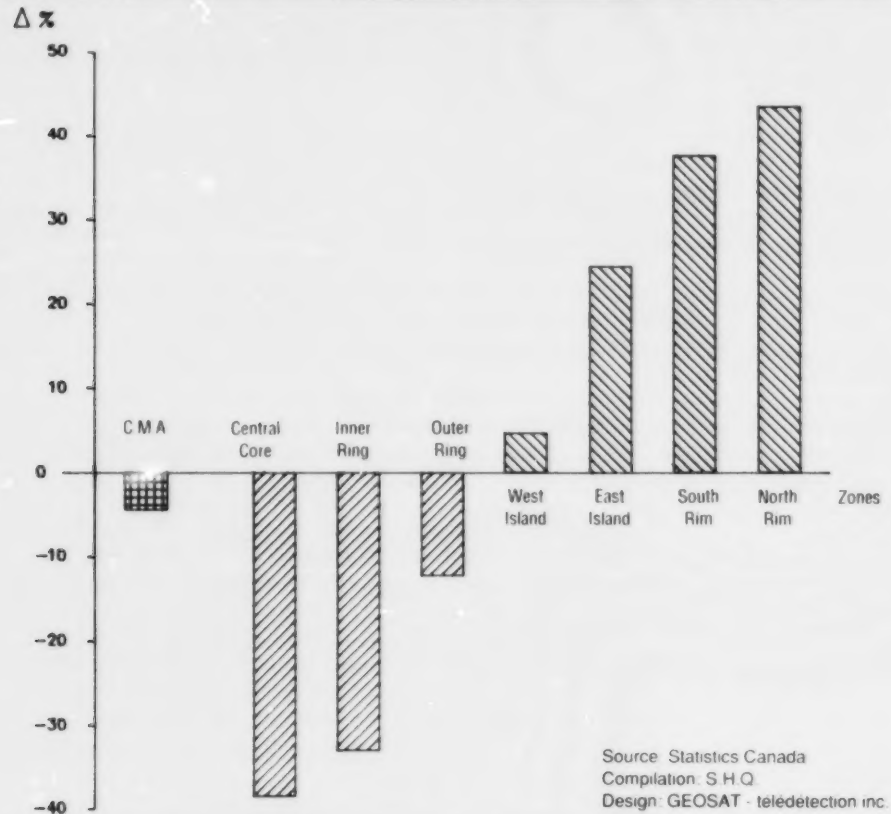
These differing trends by age group are attributable to cohort effects that have to be taken into account in a comparative analysis of demographic changes. Leaving displacement aside, we can examine the percentage changes in the size of each age group by zone. The changes in an age group in a given zone can be attributed to the cohort effect in that zone or to displacement to other zones without it being possible here to distinguish between them (unless it is quite obvious).

An examination of the changes (charts 2 to 5) immediately shows that all the age groups contributed, to a greater or lesser degree, to the decline in the population of the Central Core of Montréal. According to Chart 3, even the baby boomers (25-44) did not increase in the Central Core. This zone lost about 35% of its population of young people, 15-24, and of their parents, 45-64, since the beginning of the 1970s. The decline was significantly less for the two other groups, but the generalized increase in these populations in the metropolitan region as a whole accounts for part of this effect.

In spite of their amazing increase, the elderly are tending to disappear from the Central Core. This is surprising since many of the services they use, including health and social services, are relatively concentrated in this zone.

³⁹ Between 1966 and 1986, the 0-14 age group shrank by 31% in Québec. On the other hand, the population 65 or over rose by 84.9% (see RENAUD, François, *The impact of an Aging Population on Housing Conditions: the Elderly and their Housing Needs*, Société d'habitation du Québec, DAR, January 1989, 44 p.

Chart 2
Variation (%) in the Number of Young People (15-24)
by Analysis Zone of the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986

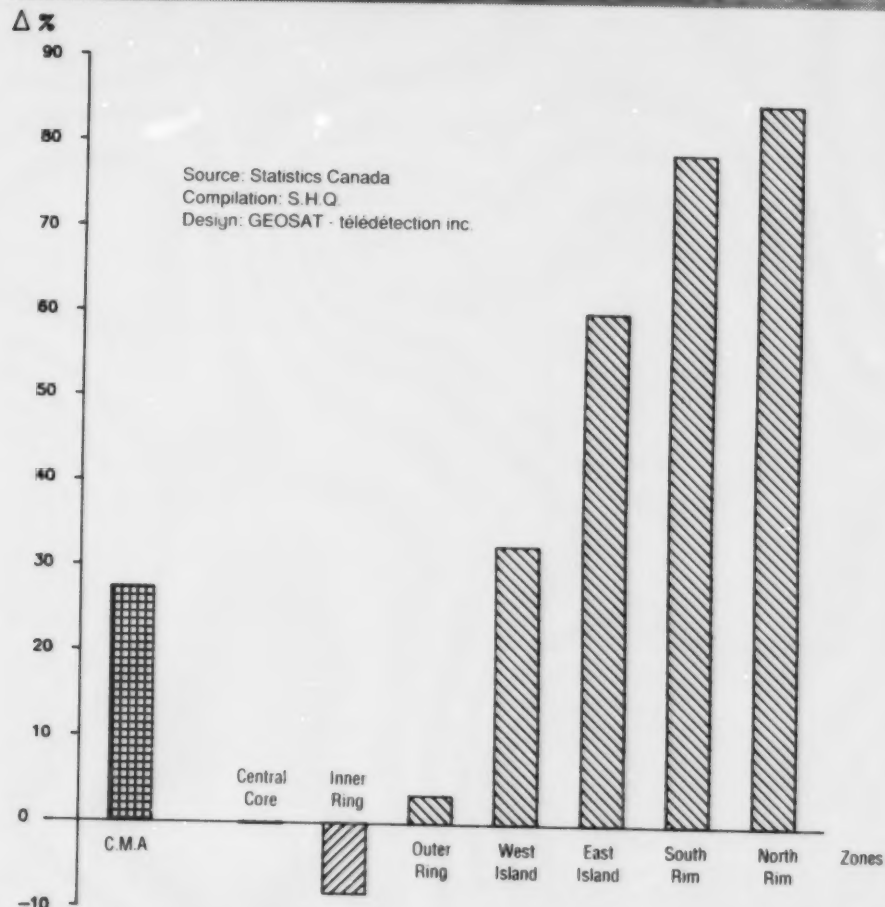


The charts also show the increase, in some cases phenomenal, in the populations of the North Rim the South Rim and the East Island reflecting the urban sprawl of the metropolitan region. Particularly noteworthy are the relative increases approaching 100% of the 45-64 age group, compared to its increase of only 17.5% for the entire CMA. We also noted that the increase is even greater, almost 110%, in the distant parts of the North Rim and South Rim⁴⁰.

While the Off-Island and East Island suburbs have shown the greatest relative growth for all ages, the Outer Ring also appears to have been preferred by the elderly. The change in

⁴⁰ At times in this text we will refer to the far North Rim and South Rim and their complementary parts, the North Shore and South Shore. Although these sub-zones were not clearly designated for the general purposes of our argument, we felt it was necessary to discuss them when they exhibited behaviour worthy of interest. For the purposes of this document, the North Shore represents, roughly, the portion of Laval between the Boulevard Saint-Martin and the Prairies River. The South Shore consists of the municipalities of Longueuil, Saint-Lambert and Lemoyne along the St. Lawrence River.

Chart 3
Variation (%) in the Number of Persons from 25 to 44
by Analysis Zone of the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986



population for those 65 or over in this zone exceeds 100%, placing it on an equal footing with the suburban zones for this age group. However, at close to 150%, the North Shore boasts the largest increase in its elderly population, while the increase in the South Shore for this age group is 115% (the charts provide values only for the North Rim and South Rim without details). It could almost be said that seniors are gradually drifting towards the north and the south. They are less interested in the distant suburbs, and seem to have lost their fondness for the Central Core.

Finally, returning to the Mid-Island, the charts show, in most cases, a greater relative population loss in the Central Core than in the Inner Ring. However, that is not the case for the 25-44 age group where the reverse is true; in fact, there is almost no loss in the Central Core for this group.

Chart 4
Variation (%) in the Number of Persons from 45 to 64
by Analysis Zone of the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986

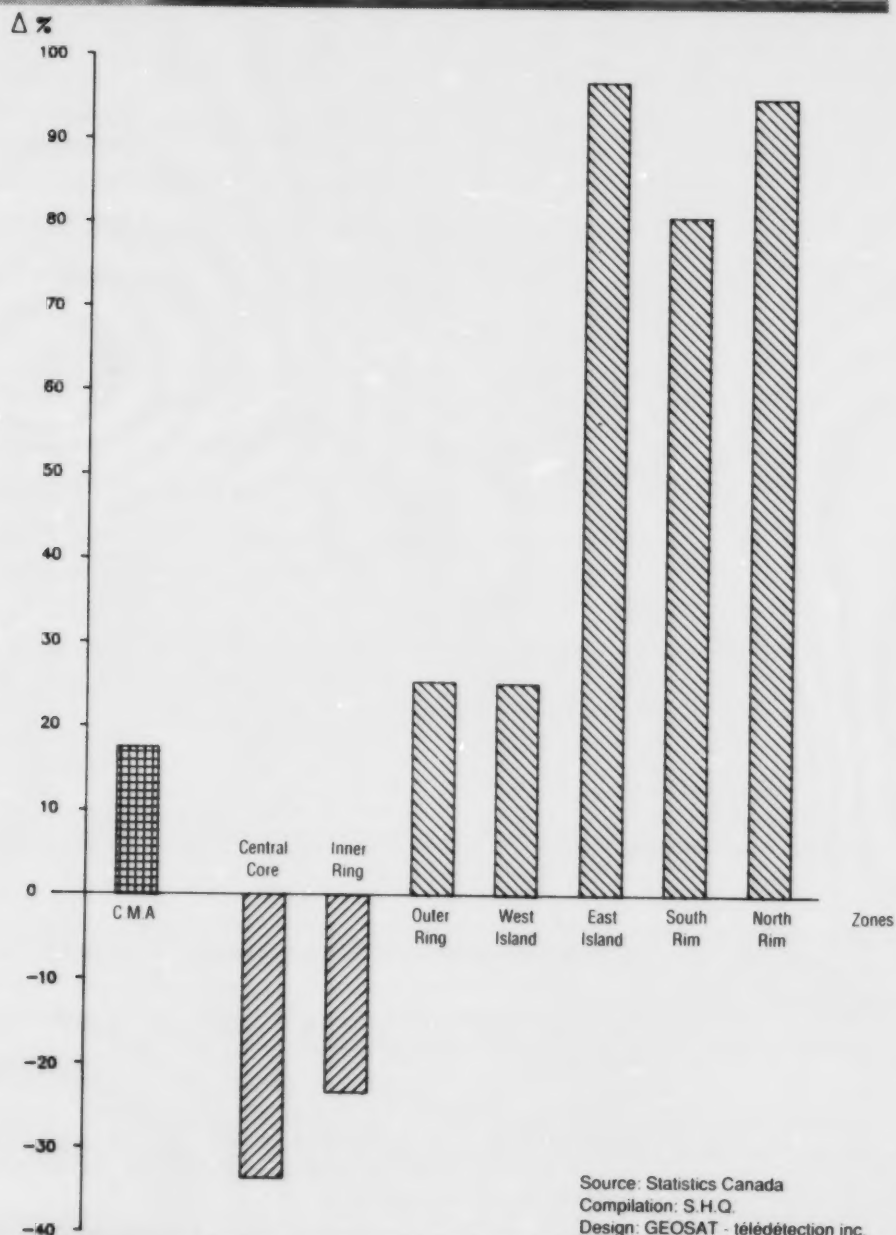
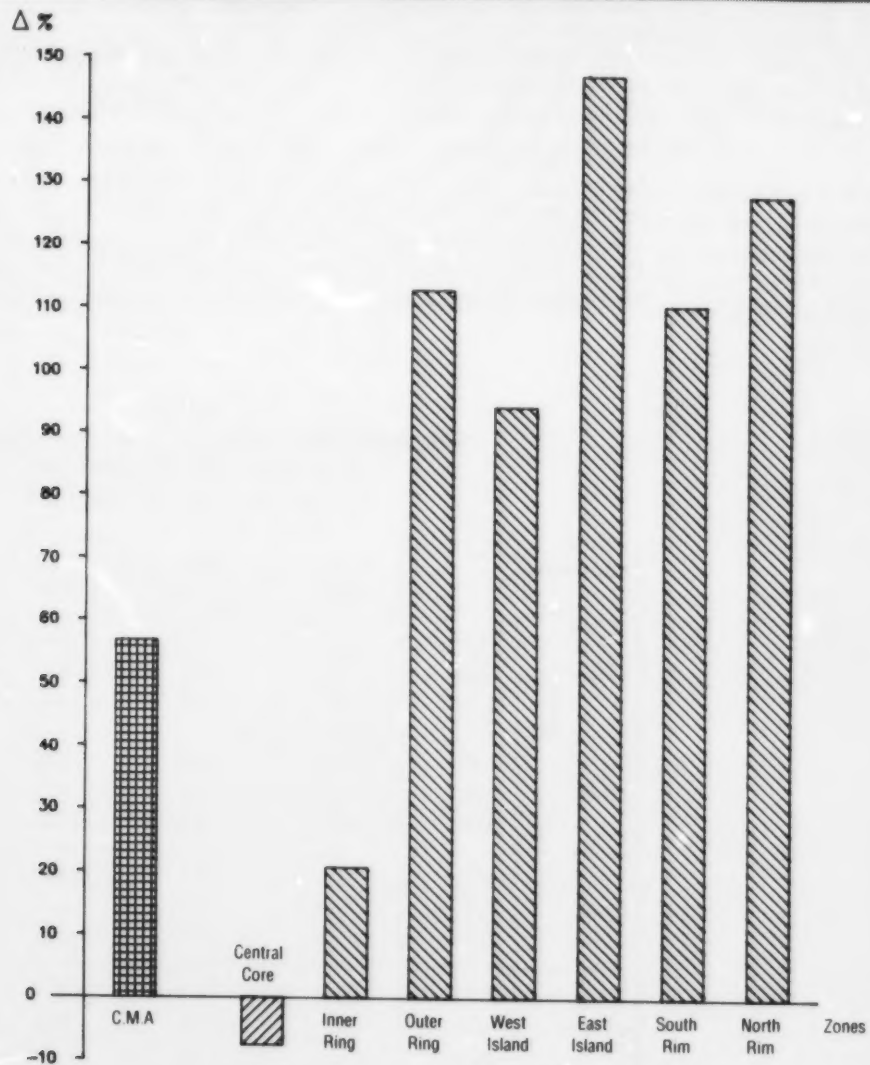


Chart 5
Variation (%) in the Number of Elderly Persons (65 or +)
by Analysis Zone of the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986



Source: Statistics Canada
 Compilation: S.H.Q.
 Design: GEOSAT - télédétection inc.

When we compare the change in age groups for a given zone, however, allowance must be made for the overall increase or decrease in age groups for the entire metropolitan region. This problem can be avoided by examining the spatial distribution of each age group. Without dealing directly with the displacement of certain groups, geographic distribution at least enables us to talk about choice of residential zone.

Geographic distribution (see Table 5) can be interpreted as the choice of residential zone of 100 people. For instance, in 1971, 30 out of 100 people (29.7%) from 45 to 64 opted for the Inner Ring while in 1986, again out of 100 people, the figure fell to 19 (19.3%).

In 1971, about two thirds of adults (15 or over) lived in the Mid-Island while by 1986, the fraction had fallen to half. The diminished interest in the Central Core and Inner Ring seems to have especially affected those of more mature years (45-64 and 65 or over). Among the elderly, the difference between the 1986 and 1971 proportions in the Central Core is - 8.5%. Out of 100 persons 65 or over in 1971, 21 chose to live in the Central Core. In 1986, under different conditions, only 12 out of 100 make the same choice. The difference of nine (more

Table 5
Geographic Distribution (%) of the Adult Population
15 or Over in the Montréal CMA
by Age Group in 1971 and 1986

Age groups		Central Core	Inner	Outer Ring	Suburbs' Ring	Total
15-24	1971	13,4	25,3	24,7	36,6	100
	1986	8,7	17,8	22,7	50,8	100
	86-71	- 4,7	- 7,5	- 2,0	+14,2	0
25-44	1971	11,9	23,6	24,2	40,3	100
	1986	9,3	17,0	19,6	54,0	100
	86-71	- 2,6	- 6,6	+ 4,6	+13,8	0
45-64	1971	15,4	29,7	23,2	31,7	100
	1986	8,7	19,3	24,8	47,2	100
	86-71	- 6,7	-10,4	+ 1,6	+15,5	0
65 or +	1971	20,7	34,6	19,7	25,0	100
	1986	12,2	26,6	26,8	34,4	100
	86-71	- 8,5	- 8,0	+ 7,1	+ 9,4	0

¹ Includes the West Island and East Island zones, as well as the North Rim and South Rim.

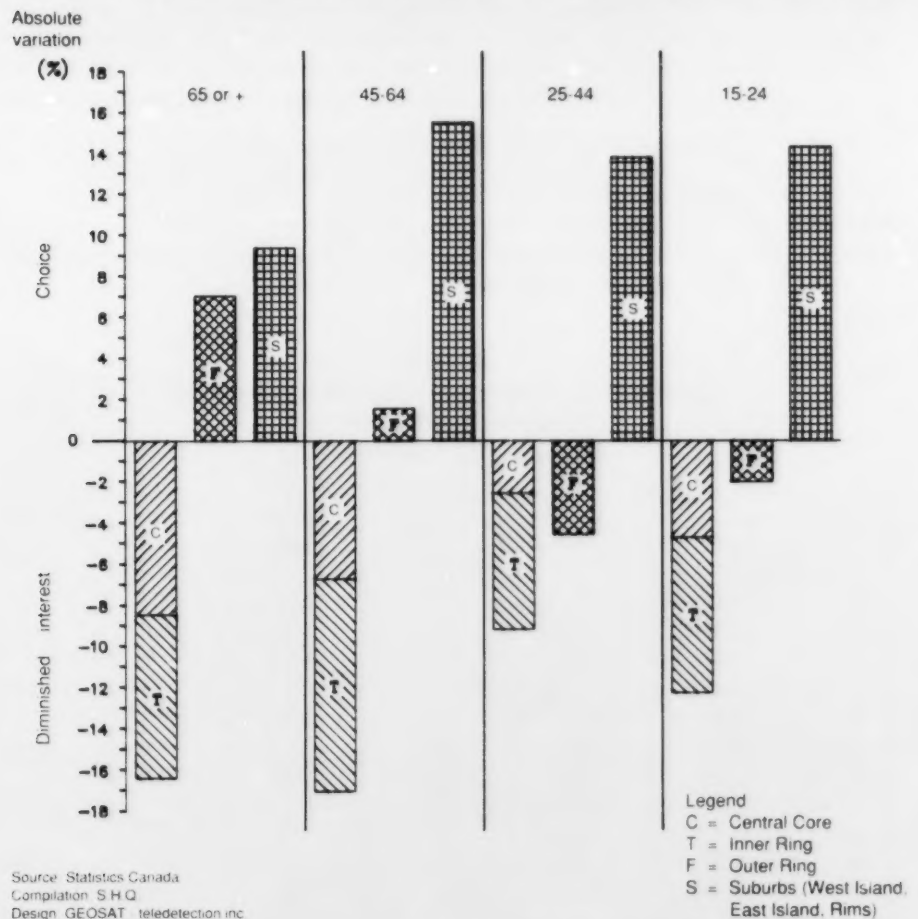
Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

specifically 8.5%) measures this group's diminished interest in the Central Core, seniors preferring (or having) to establish themselves elsewhere.

Chart 6 shows this geographic distribution in various ways. The Central Core and Inner Ring have been combined to highlight the diminished interest among various age groups in these two inner city zones where Montréal's older neighbourhoods are located. The diminished interest among those of mature years (45-64 and 65 or over) is significant, the absolute difference being about - 16% and - 17% respectively. The attraction of the suburbs for all age groups is confirmed, as well as that of the Outer Ring for the elderly: suburbs and Outer Ring for older persons, suburbs alone for the others.

For those 25-44, there is little diminished interest in the Central Core. Furthermore, their population in this zone has remained relatively stable (Chart 3). This seems to be the only group resisting the decline in the population of the Central Core. Still, baby boomers are becoming increasingly numerous in the suburbs at the expense of the Inner Ring and Outer Ring. Our results show that the size of this group has more than doubled in the far North Rim and South Rim.

Chart 6
Absolute Variation in the Geographic Distribution
of Each Adult Age Group Between 1971 and 1986,
for Each Zone of Mid-Island Montréal and Suburbs



What is the source of such a cleavage between the resistance of the Central Core and the attraction of the distant suburbs? The best hypothesis seems to be that those without a strong propensity to have children opt for this zone that is close to where they work. The others choose the distant suburbs, the preferred location for raising children. The results shown in the preceding section concerning the drastic decline in the birthrate in the Central Core appear to confirm this hypothesis.

Adults of all ages are therefore playing a part in the depopulation of the Central Core. However, those who have been least affected belong to the 25-44 age group (absolute decline of barely 200 in 15 years), which is precisely the group associated in the literature with the gentrification of the inner city. But, compared to the centrifugal forces of urban sprawl, this resistance appears very weak.

3.2.3 The new profile of the Central Core

The new profile of the Central Core has been shaped by a birthrate falling more sharply than elsewhere, diminished interest among those from 45 to 64 and 65 or over which, in the latter case, does not offset the aging of the population, and the stronger tendency among baby boomers to resist the flight from the Central Core.

To describe the profile of a zone, we use the proportions of each age group to the zone's population. Table 6 shows the profile of the Central Core in 1971 and 1986.

Table 6
Profile of the Central Core in 1971 and 1986

Age groups	P_{71} Proportion 1971 %	P_{86} Proportion 1986 %	$V = P_{86} - P_{71}$ Absolute variation 1986-1971 %
Children (0-14)	21,83	12,32	- 9,50
Young people (15-24)	18,76	16,21	- 2,56
25 - 44	25,86	36,19	+10,33
45 - 64	22,55	20,96	- 1,59
Seniors (65 or +)	11,00	14,25	+ 3,25

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

The figures speak for themselves. The Central Core is made up to a very large extent by baby boomers, and there are fewer and fewer children. But that is the case everywhere in the CMA. However, the percentage of the 25-44 age group is the highest of any analysis zone (see Table 7). In 1971, the Central Core posted the lowest proportion (25.9%). In 15 years, it has vaulted from last to first place. However, a more detailed study would show that the far North Rim is slightly ahead of the Central Core in 1986.

Table 7
Absolute Variation in the Proportion of Those 25-44
in the Total Population, by Analysis Zone Between 1971 and 1986

Zone	P_{71} Proportion 1971 %	P_{86} Proportion 1986 %	$V = P_{86} - P_{71}$ Absolute variation 1986-1971 %	Rang de la variation
Central Core	25,9	36,2	10,3	1
Inner Ring	26,9	31,9	5,0	5
Outer Ring	29,3	30,5	1,2	7
West Island	28,4	33,6	5,2	4
East Island	29,7	34,6	4,9	6
North Rim	29,6	35,8	5,2	3
South Rim	29,5	35,9	6,4	2
Montréal CMA	28,3	33,8	5,5	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

The absolute variation, $P_{86} - P_{71}$, measures the change in profile for an age group. In the Central Core, part of the proportion of children is replaced by a baby boomer component. The accentuation of the profile of the 25-44 age group is most apparent in the Central Core (see Table 8). Also noteworthy is the large change in the proportion of children in the North Shore where the representation of older age groups is increasing.

What is noteworthy in all these elements is that the 25-44 age group continues to view the Central Core as a valid residential option, while the other groups tend to abandon this zone. A number of baby boomers therefore choose to remain in the centre and, since this is generally the dominant age group, the one with the largest growth, the impact is significant. This is especially true since the drop in the birthrate is particularly severe in this zone.

In addition to associating gentrification with this group of baby boomers, the documentation also indicates that they have a low propensity to have children. In 1986, only one person in eight in the Central Core was a child. That is half the proportion in outlying regions (one in four). Of all the analysis zones, the Central Core posted the largest percentage drop in the proportion of children (-32.4%).

Table 8
Significant Changes in Profile ($V = P_{86} - P_{71}$)
In Various Zones and Sub-zones¹
of the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986 (%)

Age group \ Zone	Central Core	Inner Ring	Outer Ring	West Island	East Island	North Shore	South Shore	Far North	Far South
Decline Children (0-14)	-9,5	-7,7	-10,6	-10,1	-12,9	-15,3	-11,3	-10,7	-10,8
Stability Young people (15-24)	X ²	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Increase Baby boomers (25-44)	+10,3	5,0	X	5,2	X	X	6,2	7,9	6,3
Increase Empty-nesters (45-64)	X	X	5,0	X	6,3	8,7	X	X	X
Increase Seniors (65 or +)	X	5,4	6,7	X	X	5,1	X	X	X

¹ The North Rim and South Rim have been divided to highlight the changes in profile.

² Only changes greater than 5% or below - 5% are shown.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses.
 Authors' compilation.

3.2.4 Smaller households in the Central Core and Inner Ring

The typical household associated with gentrification is small in size. The childless couple, the single person living alone and sometimes even the single-parent family have been associated with this phenomenon by most authors interested in the subject. The proximity to downtown satisfied their lifestyle needs. A proliferation of such households would therefore produce a pressure likely to lead to this process of change.

While the population rose by 6.7% between 1971 and 1986 in the metropolitan region as a whole, the number of households swelled by 38.6%. The rate of household formation is therefore much higher than the population growth rate. Clearly, that means that the size of households has fallen significantly. On average, the drop has been about one person for the metropolitan region as a whole, from 3.4 persons per household in 1971 to 2.6 fifteen years later (see Table 9).

At first sight, the decline seems smaller in the Mid-Island, but that is not the case when relative value is considered. The inner city (Central Core and Inner Ring) began with a smaller size than the suburbs, so that the decrease is more appreciable than for most other zones.

To a very large extent, the drop in the size of households is the result of the declining birthrate. For the metropolitan area as a whole, half the drop in the average number of persons per household is attributable to fewer children, and half to fewer adults per household. There are therefore more and more households consisting of one adult: single person, single parent, elderly person, etc.

Table 9 reveals an imbalance between the suburbs and the Mid-Island concerning the reduction in the size of households. In the North Rim and South Rim, 70% of the drop is due to the lower number of children. As we move inwards toward the Central Core, the decline is increasingly attributable to the decrease in the number of adults per household.

In 1986, there were only 1.8 adults per household on average in the Central Core, and 1.9 in the Inner Ring. It is reasonable to say that a non-negligible number of households consist of a single adult in these zones. On the other hand, the average number of children per household in these zones is only 0.3. This seems to indicate that a large number of inner city households are without children. A household with one or two adults and without children corresponds to the profile one would expect to find in a gentrified zone.

Table 9
Change in Average Size of Household
by Analysis Zone Between 1971 and 1986

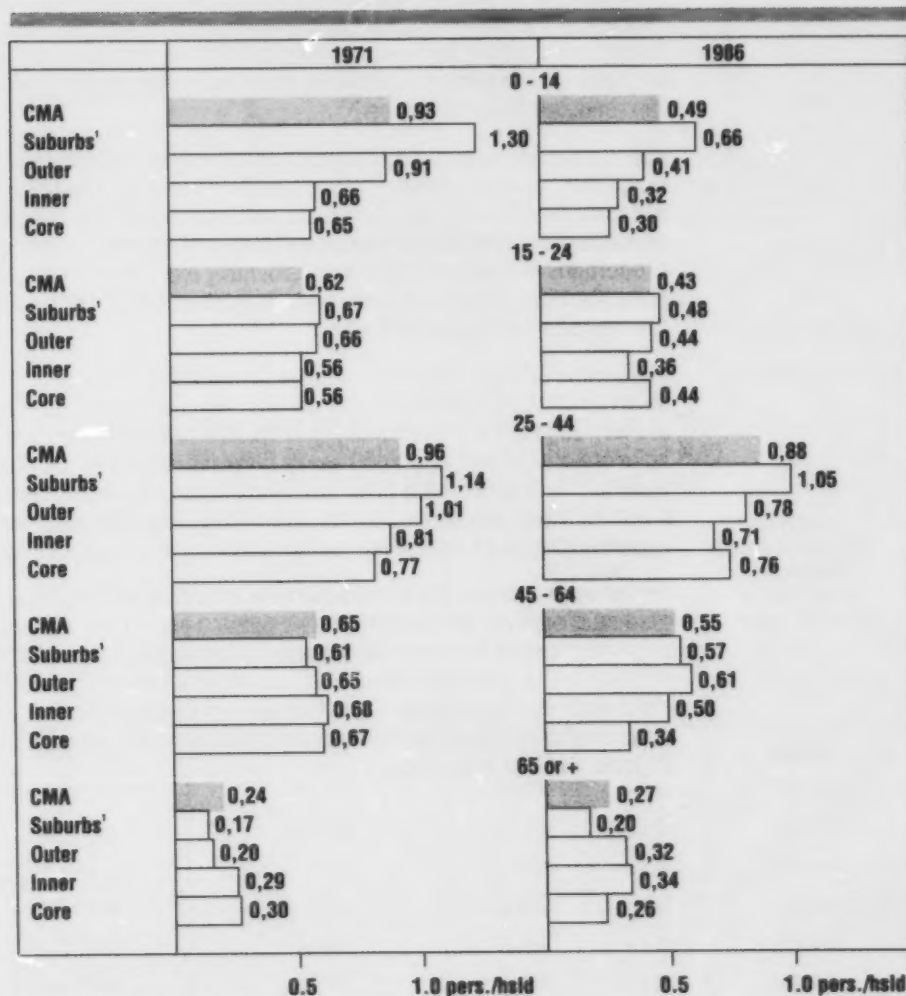
Zones	(1) Average number persons/ household 1971	(2) Average number persons/ household 1986	(3) = (2) - (1) or (4) + (5) Decline in average nb. persons/ household (1986 - 1971)	(4) Decline in average nb. persons/ household (1971 - 1986)	(5) Decline in average nb. persons/ household (1971 - 1986)
Central Core	3,0	2,1	- 0,9	- 0,4	- 0,5
Inner Ring	3,0	2,2	- 0,8	- 0,4	- 0,4
Outer Ring	3,4	2,6	- 0,8	- 0,4	- 0,4
West Island	3,7	2,9	- 0,8	- 0,6	- 0,2
East Island	4,0	2,9	- 1,1	- 0,7	- 0,4
North Rim	4,0	3,0	- 1,0	- 0,7	- 0,3
South Rim	3,9	2,9	- 1,0	- 0,7	- 0,3
Montréal CMA	3,4	2,6	- 0,8	- 0,4	- 0,4

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

Chart 7 illustrates these changes. The broad trends noted earlier concerning changes in age groups are also apparent in terms of households: the general decline in the number of children, diminished interest in the Central Core among those of more mature years (45 or over), the attraction of the Outer Ring among the elderly and, finally, the new preponderance of baby boomers near the centre.

In 1986, in the Central Core, for every ten households there were an average of three children, four young adults (15-24), eight baby boomers (25-44) three mature adults (45-64) and three elderly persons. Although these figures are averages, they tend to show that baby boomers with few or no children clearly predominate in the composition of households in the Central Core.

Chart 7
Average Number of Persons per Household by Age Group and Location
in 1971 and 1986, Montréal CMA



¹ Includes the West Island, the East Island the North Rim and the South Rim.
Sources : Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

3.3 Gentrification: the actors

Two socio-demographic features are especially associated with the renewal of inner city neighbourhoods: the new actors are usually highly educated (university graduates) and hold what are considered to be high-status jobs: professionals, senior executives, etc. Experts would consider a significant change in these features in the Central Core a major indicator of gentrification⁴¹.

3.3.1 Central Core: one adult in five is a university graduate

The proportion of university graduates jumped considerably between 1971 and 1986 in the metropolitan Montréal region. Greater access to education, the increase in collective wealth and the baby boom generation caused the proportion of graduates in the adult population to double. A high rate of post-secondary schooling is often associated with the concept of the post-industrial society because of its special needs for an educated labour force⁴². This labour force would tend to settle in the inner city, where there is a heavy concentration of tertiary, quaternary and even quinary employment. Is this the case in the metropolitan Montréal region?

The greatest increase in the proportion of university graduates occurred in the Central Core (see Table 10). With one adult in five a university graduate in 1986, the Central Core is even ahead of the West Island. Of course, the universities are concentrated there, but since graduates are the issue, undergraduates are excluded. The difference between the proportions in 1986 and 1971 is considerably more than what could have been expected, since the 1986 proportion is two and a half times that of 1971, compared to two times for the metropolitan region as a whole.

The Central Core has therefore taken on an imposing "university" profile. But is this change solely attributable to the increase in the number of university graduates? This number rose in every zone but one phenomenon is specific to the Central Core and the Inner Ring. In spite of a loss of almost 40 000 adults 20 years old or over during our period of analysis, there has been an increase of almost 24 000 graduates in the Central Core (see Table 11). A similar trend has applied to the Inner Ring. This indicates, among other things, that people with less education are leaving, at times to be replaced by a new intelligentsia.

For every graduate newly arrived in the Central Core and the Inner Ring, about three non-graduates are lost. Where is the less-educated population likely to be? In the East Island especially, where for every extra graduate the population increases by eleven additional non-graduates. But also in the North Rim where for every additional graduate, there are an extra eight non-graduates. Does this mean that the traditional populations of working-class neighbourhoods are increasingly attracted to the suburbs? These results appear to suggest that this is the case.

⁴¹ LEY, D., 1985, *op. cit.*

⁴² GALE, D.E., 1984, *op. cit.*

Table 10
Proportion of University Graduates
in the Adult Population 20 or Over,
by Zone of the Montréal CMA, 1971 and 1986

Zone	Proportion		Difference V (%) ($P_{86}-P_{71}$)	Ratio P_{86}/P_{71}
	1971 (%)	1986 (%)		
Central Core	8,2	21,1	12,9	2,57
Inner Ring	6,1	12,6	6,5	2,01
Outer Ring	7,2	10,9	3,7	1,51
West Island	12,2	17,9	5,7	1,47
East Island	4,2	5,9	1,7	1,40
North Rim	5,1	8,0	2,9	1,57
South Rim	6,1	10,5	4,4	1,72
Montréal CMA	6,1	11,9	5,8	1,95

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

Table 11
Change in the Population 20 Years of Age or Over
by Level of Schooling (University Graduate or Not),
of the Montréal CMA Between 1971 and 1986

Zone	Absolute variation (1971-1986) in number of university graduates	Absolute variation (1971-1986) in number of university graduates		Absolute variation (1971-1986) in number of those 20 or +
		(a)	(b) Ratio (b/a)	
Central Core	+23 961	-62 649	- 2,6	-38 688
Inner Ring	+23 991	-76 784	- 3,2	-52 793
Outer Ring	+23 348	+53 425	+ 2,3	+76 773
West Island	+13 745	+26 739	+ 1,9	+40 484
East Island	+ 2 994	+32 920	+11,0	+35 914
North Rim	+22 529	+177 887	+ 7,9	+200 416
South Rim	+27 540	+142 199	+ 5,2	+169 739
Montréal CMA	+138 108	+293 737	+ 2,1	+431 845

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

But could the university profile of the Central Core be attributable, as with the baby boomers, only to the fact that graduates are less likely than others to leave the inner city and that they have grown spectacularly as a group? The geographic distribution of graduates provides an astonishing answer. The geographic distribution can be seen as the choice of residential zone. In 1971, 14.3% of the metropolitan population 20 years of age or over lived in the Central Core. In 1986, this proportion has fallen to less than 10% (9.6%). Similarly, in 1971, 16.9% of university graduates lived in the Central Core. Contrary to expectation, rather than decreasing, this proportion rose to 17.2% in 1986. In other words, preference for the Central Core rose slightly. Certainly, the difference is very small but, given the huge pressure of urban sprawl, the space available, and the lower cost of new houses in the suburbs, the perspective changes. The attitude of graduates has changed in favour of the Central Core, which can therefore be considered an attractive zone for them.

The Inner Ring is not a zone of attraction for university graduates. The change toward a more "university" profile is attributable more to the departure of non-graduates and the general increase in the educated population. This zone is losing adults, but non-graduates are leaving at a rate such that graduates who choose to live there have become quite visible: the proportion of graduates has increased from 6.1% to 12.6%. This is the second most significant change in profile of our analysis zones (Table 10).

The measurements examined above, relative increases and geographic distribution, though they provide important information, are nonetheless severely limited from the point of view of interpretation given urban sprawl. The Central Core and the Inner Ring, since they already boast a very high density, cannot accept the same percentage growth in population as, for instance, the outlying zones. A less restrictive approach would involve asking what the numbers of graduates and non-graduates in these zones would have been had there not been a decline in the population, or a specific phenomenon like gentrification. Table 12 provides estimates of the expected number of graduates and non-graduates for the Central Core and the Inner Ring. The difference between the 1986 results and these estimates gives surpluses or deficits compared to the numbers expected. The calculations are simple since the 1971 populations of graduates and non-graduates are multiplied by observed growth rates for these groups for the entire CMA⁴³. According to these estimates, the two zones have a surplus of graduates. The surplus in the Central Core is estimated at 9 275, or 26.6% more than the number expected. This surplus would indicate a more extensive penetration of gentrification in this zone.

While one can refer to the more university profile of the Inner Ring, the considerations raised above as to the choices made by graduates prompt us to say in this regard that the Central Core of Montréal has undergone gentrification between 1971 and 1986. A more detailed geographic analysis of these two zones would doubtless show blocks and even neighbourhoods where the phenomenon is more pronounced.

⁴³ These estimates have been confirmed using a more complex model developed subsequently that takes more variables into account.

Table 12
Expected Values for University Graduates
and Non-graduates in the Two Inner City Zones
(1971 to 1986)

Graduates				
Zone	In 1971 (NB 71)	Expected number NB ₈₆ ¹	In 1986 (NB 86)	Difference NB86-NB ₈₆ ¹
Central Core	20 204	34 890	44 165	+ 9 275
Inner Ring	28 604	49 396	52 595	+ 3 199
Non-graduates				
		²		
Central Core	227 377	215 168	164 728	- 50 440
Inner Ring	443 039	420 887	366 255	- 54 632

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

$$^1 \text{ NB}_{86} \longrightarrow \frac{P_{86} \text{CMA}}{P_{71} \text{CMA}} \times \text{NB71} = 1,73 \times \text{NB71}$$

P_{86} , P_{71} CMA: proportion of graduates in the CMA in 1986 and 1971.

$$^2 \text{ NB}_{86} \longrightarrow \frac{P_{86} \text{CMA}}{P_{71} \text{CMA}} \times \text{NB71} = 0,95 \times \text{NB71}$$

P_{86} , P_{71} CMA: proportion of non-graduates in the CMA in 1986 and 1971.

3.3.2 From working class to professional

Much like the doubling of the number of university graduates, the number of persons employed in professional jobs in the metropolitan region rose substantially from 1971 to 1986. In 1971, of every 100 jobs available, only 20 belonged to the technical, professional, and middle or senior management group. In 1986, this had risen to almost 31, confirming the trend to "post-industrialization".

Again as in the case of graduates, the professional profile of the Central Core changed significantly, rising from a proportion of 18.8% to 41.5% (see Table 13). In so doing, the Central Core rose from fifth place to first in terms of the proportion of white collar jobs, ranking ahead of the West Island, which has a reputation for this type of worker. This change in the make-up of employment together with greater schooling produced a major change in the social status of residents. Cohabitation with traditionally working-class populations also seems to have raised certain tensions as indicated more and more by community groups through the media.

Table 13
Proportion of Professionals¹ Employed in 1971 and 1986,
by Montréal CMA Zone

Zone	P_{71} Proportion 1971 (%)	P_{86} Proportion 1986 (%)	Variation $P_{86} - P_{71}$	Ratio P_{86} / P_{71}
Central Core	18,8	41,5	22,7	2,21
Inner Ring	16,6	29,4	12,8	1,77
Outer Ring	20,8	28,2	7,4	1,35
West Island	30,3	39,0	9,3	1,29
East Island	18,0	23,6	5,6	1,31
North Rim	19,7	28,0	8,3	1,42
South Rim	20,1	30,6	10,5	1,52
Montréal CMA	19,8	30,6	10,8	1,55

¹ Includes technicians, professionals, artists, middle and senior managers.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

Table 14
Absolute Variation in Employed Population, by Type
(professional v non-professional),
by Montréal CMA Zone (1971 to 1986)

Zone	Absolute variation (1971-1986) in professionals a	Absolute variation (1971-1986) in non-professionals b		Absolute variation (1971-1986) in employed population
	(a)	(b)	Ratio (b/a)	
Central Core	+26 649	- 41 034	-1,54	- 14 385
Inner Ring	+26 130	- 63 880	-2,44	- 37 750
Outer Ring	+35 640	+ 21 220	+0,60	+ 56 860
West Island	+21 425	+ 16 765	+0,78	+ 38 190
East Island	+ 8 885	+ 21 640	+2,44	+ 30 525
North Rim	+59 340	+112 530	+1,90	+ 171 870
South Rim	+58 195	+ 85 085	+1,46	+ 143 280
Montréal CMA	+236 264	+152 326	+0,64	+ 388 590

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

The table of gains and losses by job type (see Table 14) shows that the number of professionals has increased in every zone. On the other hand, non-professional jobs have declined in the Central Core and even more in the Inner Ring. For every two professionals gained in the Central Core, three non-professionals are lost. In the Inner Ring, the number of non-professionals lost is five.

These figures only cover the employed population; a more accurate picture of the labour force would take the unemployed into account. Still, there is a clear drop in the number of non-professionals in the inner city, in favour of the East Island the North Rim and the South Rim. An analysis of the change in the geographic distribution confirms the attraction of these zones, especially for non-professionals. These workers are disenchanted with the Central Core and Inner Ring. In 1971, 41.6% of the non-professionals of the CMA elected to live in these two zones, compared to 25.1% in 1986.

The change in the geographic distribution of professionals is similar to that of the baby boomers (25-44). There is a slightly diminished interest among professionals for the Inner Ring and even the Central Core, but this is very marginal compared to non-professionals. In the case of the Central Core in particular, the percentage of professionals living there has changed little, 12.7% of the CMA in 1971 and 12.0% in 1986, while the percentage has dropped by almost half for non-professionals, from 13.5% to 7.5%. The Central Core therefore remains a valid choice for professionals, particularly when their behaviour is compared with that of other workers.

Nonetheless, the population of the CMA has increased and it would be difficult for the inner city to undergo a similar relative increase in its population. In the absence of a decline, the Central Core and Inner Ring should theoretically preserve the same size adult population. It is then possible to assess the losses and gains of professionals and non-professionals respectively taking into account the higher relative increase of the first compared to the second. In the same way as for graduates, Table 15 provides estimates obtained by applying the observed increase for the entire CMA to the professional and non-professional populations of 1971, for the Central Core and Inner Ring.

According to these calculations, the number of professionals in the Central Core exceeds the expectation by 11 730 or 27.9%. There is no surplus in the Inner Ring. The calculations also show that the two zones have a deficit of between 25 000 and 30 000 non-professionals. According to these figures, then, only the Central Core shows an obvious change, at the aggregate level, in the "professional" variable in the direction indicated by gentrification.

The conclusion from these analyses is that a specialized tertiarisation, a characteristic of post-industrialization, has brought about a remarkable increase in the number of white-collar workers in the centre of Montréal. This effect is combined with the marked diminished interest among the non-professional population, which undoubtedly flows from the deindustrialization of the central zones (plant closures, shift of industries to the suburbs and regions, etc.). These trends added together combine to give the inner city, and particularly the Central Core, a more "professional" profile.

Table 15
Expected Values for Professionals and Non-professionals
in the Two Inner City Zones (1971 to 1986)

Professionals				
Zone	In 1971 (NB 71)	Expected number NB ₈₆ ¹	In 1986 (NB 86)	Difference NB86-NB ₈₆
Central Core	27 125	42 044	53 774	+11 730
Inner Ring	48 270	74 818	74 400	- 418
Non-professionals				
Central Core	116 970	100 594 ²	75 936	- 24 658
Inner Ring	242 585	208 623	178 705	- 29 918

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

$$^1 \text{NB}_{86} \rightarrow \frac{P_{86, \text{CMA}}}{P_{71, \text{CMA}}} \times \text{NB71} = 1,55 \times \text{NB71}$$

P_{86}, P_{71} CMA: proportion of professionals in the CMA in 1986 and 1971.

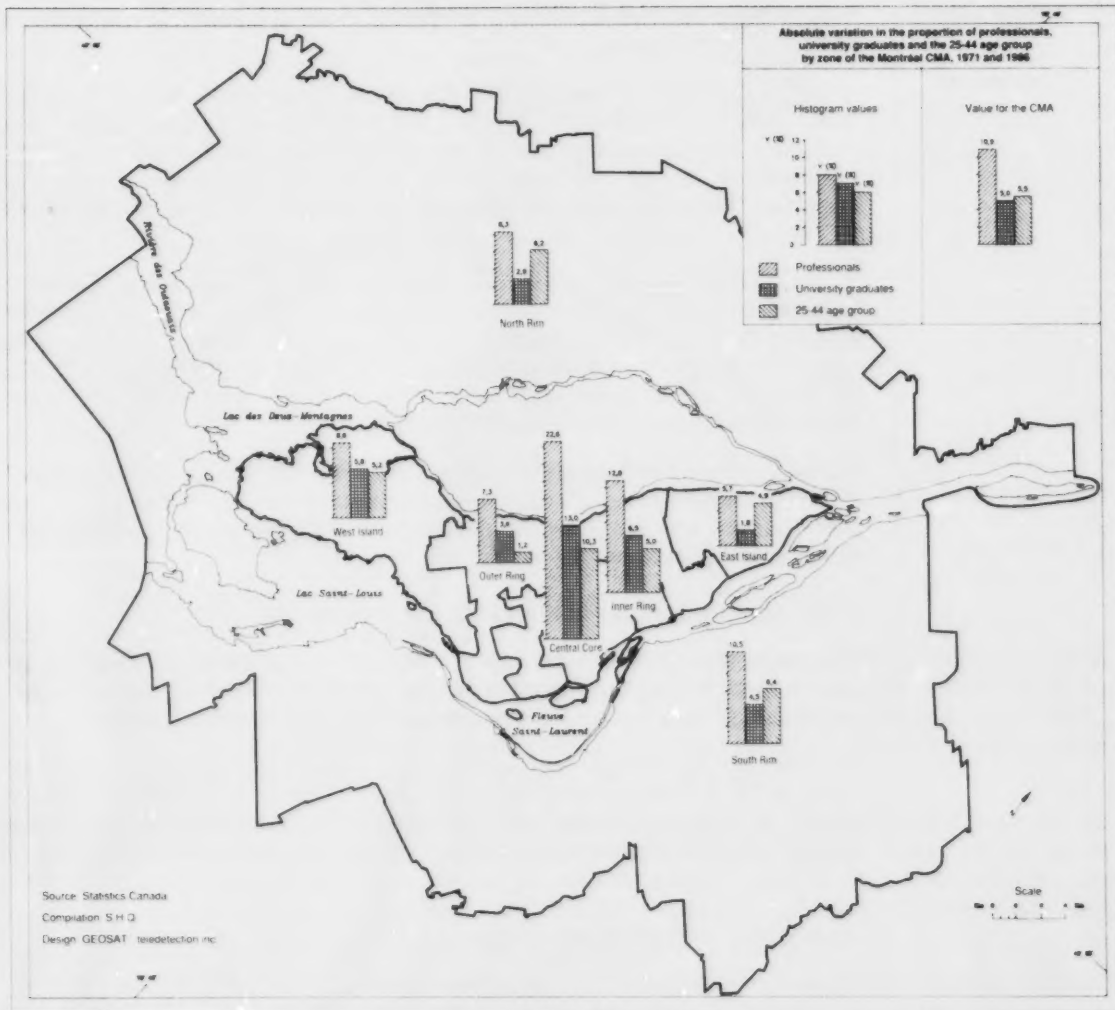
$$^2 \text{NB}_{86} \rightarrow \frac{P_{86, \text{CMA}}}{P_{71, \text{CMA}}} \times \text{NB71} = 0,86 \times \text{NB71}$$

P_{86}, P_{71} CMA: proportion of non-professionals in the CMA in 1986 and 1971.

Map 8 shows how the profiles have changed in relation to three variables closely associated with gentrification: professionals, university graduates, and the 25-44 age group (the baby boomers in 1986). The map indicates the relatively more pronounced changes in profile in the Central Core in particular for professionals.

These socio-demographic features are the fundamental values in an analysis of gentrification. The significant changes noted in these variables, particularly for university graduates, support the position that gentrification has become apparent at the aggregate level in the Central Core of Montréal. This zone is losing its other populations while it remains the choice of university graduates and professionals. It is even a special attraction zone for graduates.

Map 8
Absolute Variation in the Proportion of Professionals,
University Graduates and the 25-44 Age Group
by Montréal CMA Zone, 1971 and 1986



3.4 Important changes in tenure

The actors in gentrification show a definite propensity for private ownership⁴⁴. Supply has adjusted to this specific demand largely by converting rental buildings to co-ownership status. In most large North American cities, legislation has been passed providing limitations on such conversion. These legislative changes are designed to counter the negative effects on tenants, i.e. eviction, displacement, re-housing, as well as the loss of low-priced rental housing.

In Québec, a moratorium was placed on the conversion of rental buildings to condominiums. However, this measure was bypassed to a large extent under intense demand pressure⁴⁵. This was accomplished by means of major repair work requiring the temporary evacuation of tenants (disguised conversion) and the conversion to undivided co-ownership. These loopholes prompted a further tightening of the rules in the fall of 1987 (Bill 87).

It is nonetheless true that since the mid-1970s, the rights of tenant households have been expanded (rent control, moratorium on conversions, improved access to legal services, etc.) and the effect of that has been to restrain, and even contain, the move to home-ownership in older inner city neighbourhoods. The Central Core has little room for property development and its large rental stock (nine out of ten units in 1971) is in itself a psychological curb on home-ownership.

The desire to own a home was especially evident in the metropolitan region between 1971 and 1986, when the proportion of home-ownership rose from 35.2% to 44.7%. This means about 300 000 more homeowners who had to choose between the suburbs, where it is easier to own a home, and the Mid-Island.

3.4.1 Central Core: major trend in favour of ownership

Many signs show that the "high tenant" profile of the Central Core is, slowly and quietly, in the process of changing. During our analysis period, more than 6 000 tenant households left while more than 8 000 homeowner households were added (see Table 16).

Yet, since the beginning of the 1970s, many programs have promoted rental housing development. Social housing (LRH) and housing cooperatives (COOPs and NPOs) have proliferated as a result of housing programs, particularly in Montréal's inner neighbourhoods. A tax measure known as the MURB program⁴⁶ provided a powerful stimulus for the

⁴⁴ GALE, D.E., 1984. Op. cit.

⁴⁵ BOURBEAU, A., (Minister of Municipal Affairs, Responsible for Housing). 1987. *Lifting the Moratorium, a Necessary Decision*. Québec, Société d'habitation du Québec, 69 p.

⁴⁶ Multiple Unit Residential Building: a program designed to ease the tax burden of owners of multiple unit rental buildings.

Table 16
Absolute Variation in the Number of Households by Mode of Tenure
(Owner or Tenant) by Montréal CMA
Analysis Zone (1971 to 1986)

Zone	Absolute variation (1971-1986) in number of homeowner households (a)	Absolute variation (1971-1986) in number of tenant households (b)		Absolute variation (1971-1986) in number of households
		(a)	Ratio (b/a)	
Central Core	+ 8,290	- 6,225	-0,75	- 1,940
Inner Ring	+10,205	- 965	-0,09	- 9,225
Outer Ring	+25,070	+37,075	+1,48	+ 62,145
West Island	+12,250	+ 6,555	+0,54	+ 18,800
East Island	+17,750	+ 5,385	+0,30	+ 23,115
North Rim	+70,500	+25,125	+0,36	+102,830
South Rim	+56,405	+28,250	+0,50	+ 92,455
Montréal CMA	+215,440	+95,200	+0,44	+310,525

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

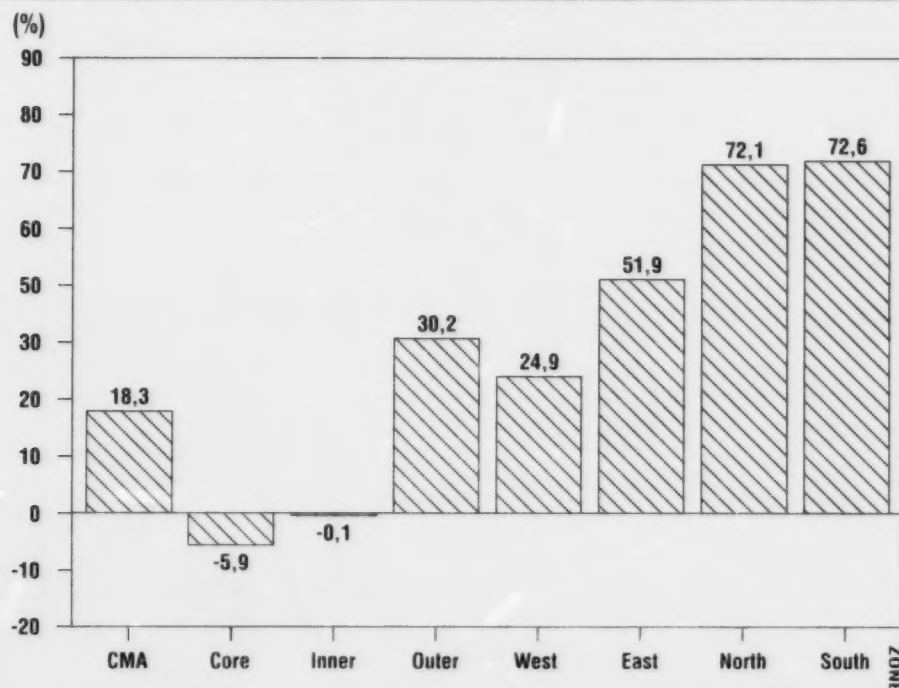
construction of rental housing. This tax shelter on new multiple unit buildings gave rise to a number of large rental projects in downtown Montréal. In spite of these incentives, the number of tenant households in the Central Core has fallen by almost 6% (see Chart 8). Were it not for these measures, the decline in the number of tenant households would doubtless have been much greater.

The growth in the rental stock has taken place mainly in the North Rim and South Rim, as well as, to a lesser degree, in the East Island. However, globally, it does not exceed the increase in the stock of owner-occupied housing (see Chart 9). Two exceptions need to be singled out: the North Shore and South Shore sub-zones (not shown on the charts) where the relative increase in tenants is greater than that of homeowners.

Chart 9 shows that the relative increase in the number of homeowners in the Central Core (almost 60%) is substantially greater than that of the other two zones of the Mid-Island and even manages to exceed that of the West Island. On the other hand, the geographic distribution also indicates greater stability of homeowner choice in the Central Core compared with each of the analysis zones and the North Shore and South Shore (in 1971, 4.88% of homeowner households in the CMA lived in the Central Core, compared to 4.43% in 1986).

It seems particularly important to analyze the change in the "homeowner" profile (see Map 9). The greatest change in profile has occurred in the East Island, the difference between 1971 and 1986 being 11.3%. That comes as no surprise. There is room for

Chart 8
Relative Variation (%) in the Number of Tenant Households
by Montréal CMA Zone Between 1971 and 1986



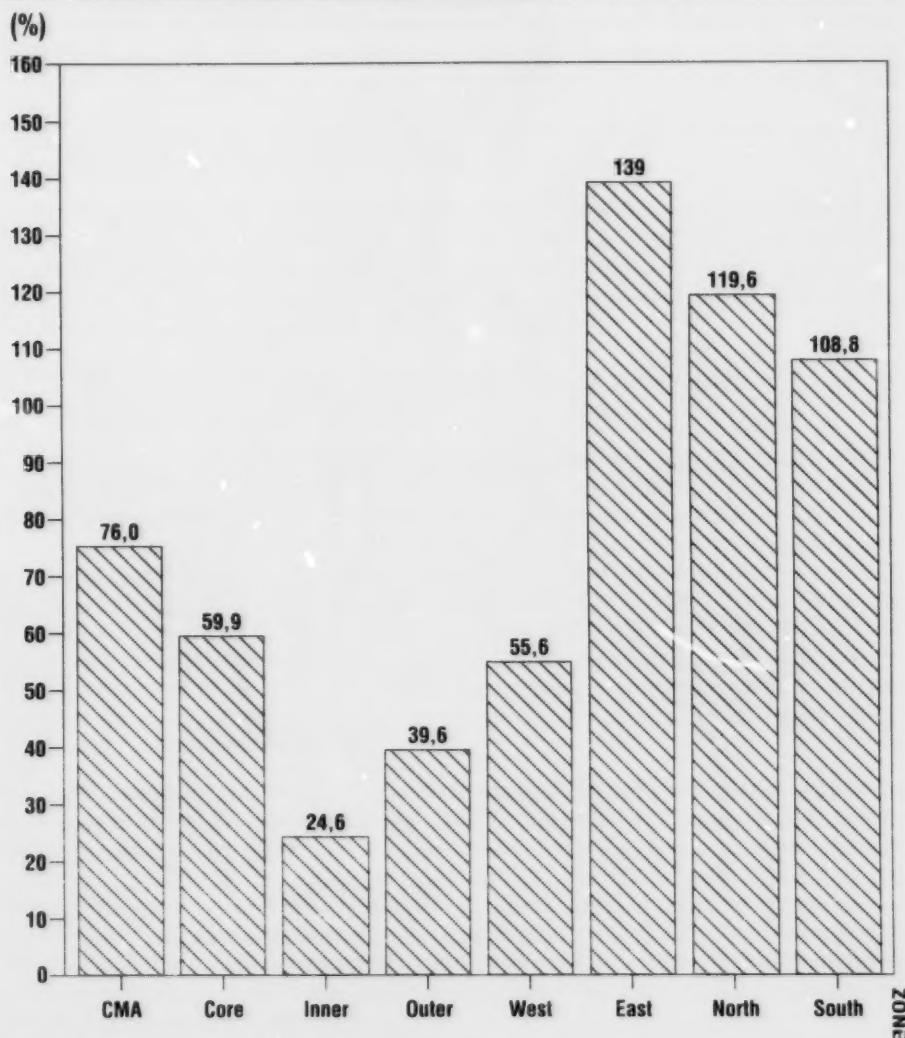
Source : Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

residential development (Rivière-des-Prairies and Pointe-aux-Trembles neighbourhoods) and the cost of land there is relatively low. These features, combined with the effects of the City of Montréal's initiatives to produce 10 000 and 20 000 housing units, and with the various Québec home-ownership programs (HOAP, Corvée-Habitation), prompted many households to purchase a home in the East Island.

The Central Core ranks second in terms of the change in the "homeowner" profile with a difference of 6.6%, slightly ahead of the differences noted in the West Island, the North Rim and the South Rim. As we said earlier, there are many obstacles to home-ownership in the Central Core:

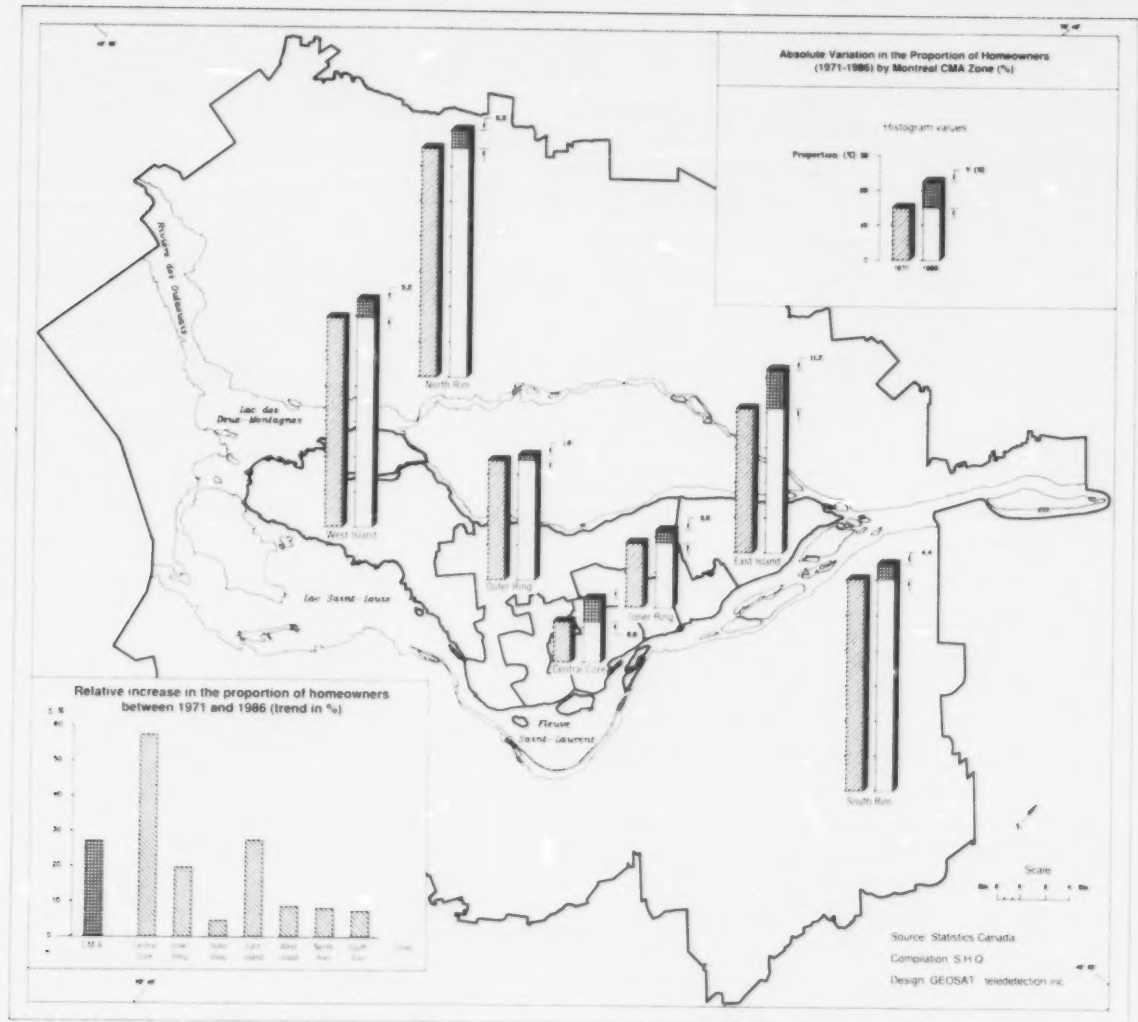
- the high population density is a negative factor for couples with children;
- the heavy predominance of the rental stock;
- the extent of protection measures for tenants and the rental stock as such;
- the lack of land available for residential development.

Chart 9
Relative Variation (%) in the Number of Homeowner Households
by Montréal CMA Zone Between 1971 and 1986



Source : Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

Map 9
Absolute Variation in the Proportion of Homeowners (1971-1986)
by Montréal CMA Zone (%)



Given these contingencies and to the extent that Québec and City of Montréal homeownership assistance programs have favoured families, the change in the "homeowner" profile of the Central Core can be termed significant. It is interesting to associate this with the increase in the population of the 25-44 age group in the Central Core. In 1971, this group accounted for 53.4% of adults from 25 to 64 or over, i.e. those generally most likely to be homeowners. In 1986, this percentage rose to 63.3% in the Central Core, the largest increase of any zone. This higher proportion offset the loss among the 45-64 age group, the empty-nesters. Given that, in the life cycle, those 65 or over would tend to give up individual ownership (in 1970, this age group was 50 or over), the increase in homeownership in the Central Core probably occurred among the 25-44 age group which, it will be recalled, have few or no children in this Mid-Island zone.

This marked increase in the home-ownership rate in the Central Core could not be the result solely of new housing construction, as is the case in the suburbs. Necessarily, a number of rental housing units had to shift to the ownership side in spite of a moratorium prohibiting the conversion of rental buildings to condominium status, and another restricting conversion to undivided co-ownership status.

3.4.2 Estimate of the number of rental units converted to ownership status between 1971 and 1986⁴⁷

The conversion of rental buildings to co-ownership status is in part the corollary to the return to the inner city of the new middle class. In recent years, estimates have been made, more or less successfully, of the number of rental units converted to co-ownership status in Montréal's inner city neighbourhoods. During the public parliamentary commission on the lifting of the moratorium in the summer of 1987, many groups (community groups, tenant groups, COOPs, NPOs) submitted briefs stating that in one district alone, the Plateau-Mont-Royal, rental housing fell by a net amount of 13 000 units between 1981 and 1986⁴⁸. According to this assessment, the loss was mainly attributable (11 815 units) to the conversion of rental units to co-ownership status (condominium or undivided co-ownership). However, the most recent data of the 1993 census do not support these somewhat exaggerated results.

Our goal here is to provide a more realistic estimate of this phenomenon that is not restricted to the 1981-1986 period and covers more than the Plateau-Mont-Royal. An estimate over a more extensive period (1971-1986) and for each of our Mid-Island zones will encompass the phenomenon from its beginnings. The first wave of conversions took place in the early 1970s, following the introduction of the co-ownership legal regime in 1969. This first generation of conversions prompted the imposition of a moratorium prohibiting the conversion of rental units into condominiums. However, this moratorium was widely bypassed, and disguised (major repairs) and underground (undivided co-ownership) conversions occurred.

⁴⁷ For further information, see SENÉCAL, Paul., 1991. *Conversion de logements locatifs en propriété d'occupation entre 1971 et 1986: modèle d'estimation portant sur trois zones centrales de l'île de Montréal*. Montréal, Société d'habitation du Québec, Direction de l'analyse et de la recherche, 51 p.

⁴⁸ Comité Logement Saint-Louis. 1986. *Le Plateau des uns fait le bonheur des autres*. Centraide Montréal, programme Défi 86, 43 p.

We will confine our data and estimates to the three Mid-Island zones, the Central Core, Inner Ring and Outer Ring. The first two zones, with very high density, include most older inner city neighbourhoods and so are of greater interest.

Table 17 shows that the Central Core and Inner Ring have suffered a net loss in their rental stock. The Central Core has 6 225 fewer rental units. This loss and, to a lesser extent, the drop in the rental stock of the Inner Ring (965 units) indicates a shift in tenure. The loss of rental housing is offset by a net gain of owner-occupied housing amounting to 8 290 in the Central Core and 10 205 in the Inner Ring.

However, these net results are the combined product of many phenomena; the shift from tenancy to ownership is only one element of the picture. This period also witnessed:

- 1° new housing starts;
- 2° demolition of housing;
- 3° housing gains and losses through recycling; for instance, a warehouse converted into condominium units, a school transformed into a rental housing cooperative, a rental building made over into offices, a housing unit into a shop, etc.;
- 4° housing gains and losses through subdivision or enlargement; for instance, a bachelor unit added to a duplex or a duplex converted into a single-family dwelling.

These movements have to be taken into account to assess the amount of conversions of rental housing to co-ownership status. We do not intend to describe our estimation model in detail. Suffice it to say that it takes into account the number of housing starts and units demolished in each zone⁴⁹, which are the model's two most important variables. The net changes in housing units can also be used to deduce the size of other phenomena (recycling, subdivision, etc.). Two estimation scenarios are put forward here, one probably slightly over-estimating the number of units converted and the other tending to under-estimate it.

1° Adaptation scenario - occupation zone

This scenario distributes figures for housing starts, demolitions and other estimates according to the "tenant-homeowner" configuration of each zone in 1971 (e.g.: 88.4% of housing starts in the Central Core are rental, similarly for demolitions, etc.).

However, home-ownership increased during our period of analysis and this scenario probably over-estimates the number of rental units converted to co-ownership status.

⁴⁹ Sources: CMHC, housing starts statistics. City of Montréal, building permit statistics.

Table 17
Absolute Variation in the Number of Residential Units
in the Three Zones of Mid-Island Montréal,
by Mode of Tenure Between 1971 and 1986

Central Core						
Year	Mode of tenure				Total	
	Tenants		Homeowners			
	Number	Proportion %	Number	Proportion %	Number	Proportion %
1971	105 820	88,4	13 835	11,6	119 655	100,0
1986	99 595	81,8	22 125	18,2	121 720	100,0
Net variation	- 6 225	- 6,6	8 290	6,6	2 065	0,0
Inner Ring						
1971	184 770	81,6	41 585	18,4	226 355	100,0
1986	183 805	78,0	51 790	22,0	235 595	100,0
Net variation	- 965	- 3,6	10 205	3,6	9 240	0,0
Outer Ring						
1971	122 810	66,0	63 335	34,0	186 145	100,0
1986	159 885	64,4	88 405	35,6	248 290	100,0
Net variation	37 075	- 1,6	25 070	1,6	62 145	0,0

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1986 censuses. Authors' compilation.

2° Adaptation scenario - peripheral influence zone

This second scenario differs from the first solely in its treatment of housing starts. It assumes that the distribution of housing starts between homeowner and rental corresponds to that of the peripheral zone in 1971. In other words, the Central Core is seeking to match, through its housing starts, the configuration of the Inner Ring, while the Inner Ring tries to match that of the Outer Ring, etc.

While this scenario more adequately reflects the desire for home-ownership manifested between 1971 and 1986, it probably under-estimates conversions, especially in the Inner Ring whose configuration is closer to that of the Central Core than its adjacent zone, the Outer Ring.

Table 18 gives the results of the two scenarios. Between 6 593 and 8 050 rental units were converted to home-ownership in the Central Core, of which more than 80% could be attributed to co-ownership conversion (condominium or undivided). This loss is non-negligible since it amounts to between 6% and 8% of the rental stock of the Central Core over a period of 15 years. This corresponds to an annual loss of about 500 rental units, or an average of roughly 0.5%.

The results also show that conversion to home-ownership is very strong in the Inner Ring, accounting for the loss of from 6 142 to 8 505 rental units, though this only represents between 3% and 5% of this more populated zone's rental stock. The average annual loss can be estimated at 0.25%, half the rate of the Central Core. This shows that the conversion of rental housing to home-ownership according to these estimates, is not confined to the Plateau-Mont-Royal. It also occurred in older neighbourhoods outside the Central Core (Vieux-Rosemont, Villeray, Hochelaga, Maisonneuve, etc.). The heavy concentration of conversions in certain neighbourhoods, particularly those of the Plateau-Mont-Royal, doubtless explains why the situation has been so vigorously denounced by tenant groups in recent years.

Table 18
Estimate of the Number of Rental Units Converted to Ownership According
to Type (Mixed or Co-ownership) by Mid-Island Zone
Between 1971 and 1986

Adaptation scenario - occupation zone				
Zone	Type of ownership			Loss of rental housing in % of 1971 housing stock
	Mixed tenure ¹	Condominium and undivided co-ownership	Total	
Central Core	1 401	6 649	8 050	7,61 %
Inner Ring	1 480	7 025	8 505	4,60 %
Outer Ring	686	3 256	3 942	3,21 %
Adaptation scenario - peripheral influence zone				
Zone	Type of ownership			Loss of rental housing in % of 1971 housing stock
	Mixed tenure ¹	Condominium and undivided co-ownership	Total	
Central Core	1 147	5 446	6 593	6,23 %
Inner Ring	1 069	5 073	6 142	3,32 %
Outer Ring	275	1 304	1 579	1,29 %

¹ The owner occupies a unit in a rental building. In 1981, according to census data, 17.4% of units in buildings with fewer than five floors and of duplexes featured such mixed tenure in the Montréal CMA.

Although conversion has occurred in the Outer Ring, the estimates show that it has not had much impact. The average annual loss of rental units is barely 0.15%.

In all, from 1971 to 1986, between 15 000 and 20 000 rental housing units were converted to ownership in all three zones of the Mid-Island. It should be recalled that before the moratorium, almost 1 500 rental units had been converted to condominium⁵⁰. In addition, a survey done in 1979 by INRS-Urbanisation estimated the number of undivided co-ownership units in Montréal at about 5 000⁵¹. When the increase in mixed tenure (owner-tenant) during our analysis period is added, as well as transfers that took place between 1979 and 1986, our estimates are both coherent and maintain continuity when compared with the results obtained in these earlier surveys.

A word of caution is necessary here. Some authors have attempted to establish an equivalence between the number of rental units converted to home-ownership and the number of tenants evicted from their dwelling or neighbourhood. That would be a mistake! An American study covering the period 1970-1979⁵² found that 78% of purchasers of rental housing converted to condominium (or share cooperatives) had been tenants previously. Almost 35% of these purchasers were the tenants in situ at the time of conversion. Closer to home, a preliminary survey done in downtown Montréal in the winter of 1984-1985 on a small sample of co-owner households (condominium and undivided co-ownership), found that 80% of the households had previously been tenants. In addition, almost 45% of these co-owners had previously occupied a rental unit located in a downtown neighbourhood⁵³. We are therefore far from a one-to-one correspondence between converted rental units and tenants evicted from their dwellings or neighbourhoods.

Having said this, our results lead us to conclude that the impact of conversion, both on tenants (eviction) and the housing stock (reduction of stock) is non-negligible.

⁵⁰ DANCEREAU, F., GODBOUT, J., 1980. Op. cit.

⁵¹ FORTIN, L., and GODBOUT, J., 1980. Op. cit.

⁵² HUD, 1980. Op. cit.

⁵³ CHOKO, M. H., and DANCEREAU, F., 1987. *Restauration résidentielle et copropriété au centre-ville de Montréal*. Montréal, INRS-Urbanisation, "Études et documents", n° 53.

PHOTO 6
Lachine Canal:
new condominium project

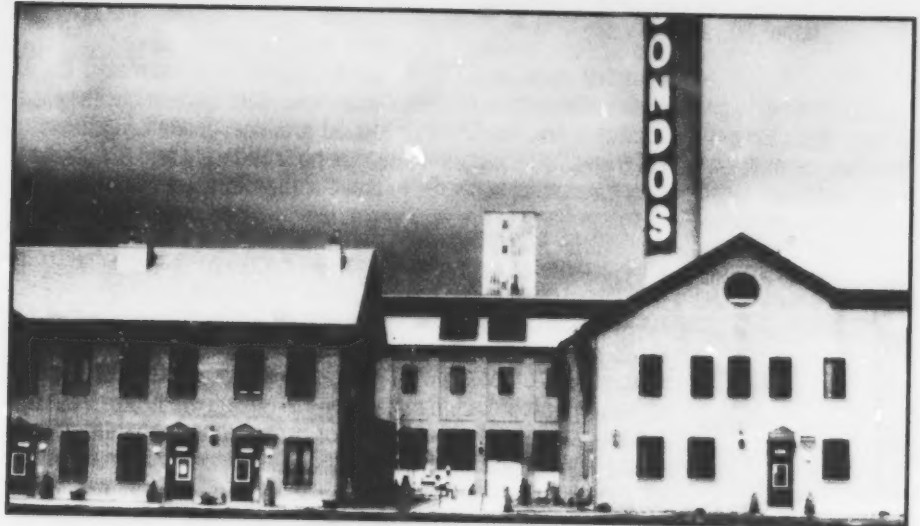


PHOTO 7
Lachine Canal:
former factory recycled into condominiums



The vestiges of Montréal's industrialization are readily apparent along the Lachine Canal. Now a national park with all the benefits that come with it (bicycle paths, green spaces, etc.), the banks of the canal have become desirable residential areas for the new middle class.

4 VISIBLE SIGNS OF RECLAMATION OF THE INNER CITY: RENOVATION, RECYCLING, DEMOLITION-REPLACEMENT AND URBAN RENEWAL

The variables (university graduates, white collar workers, etc.) examined from the economic standpoint mainly concern the demand aspect of gentrification. The analysis has indicated that the changes are large enough to point to a degree of gentrification in the Central Core. The effects are doubtless concentrated in certain blocks or neighbourhoods, but the impact is strong enough to be measured at the aggregate level. The Central Core includes 13 planning neighbourhoods of the City of Montréal as well as two other municipalities near the downtown core.

In principle, this phenomenon should also leave its mark on the supply side. The new middle class associated with gentrification has special requirements concerning the consumption of housing. Its actors have a reputation for seeking declining inner city neighbourhoods near the business district. They prefer older dwellings with interesting architectural and heritage features with renovation and restoration potential.

But that is the view of the phenomenon conveyed by the literature and the reality of the process is more diverse. In addition to the renovation of dwellings that are attractive from an architectural point of view, gentrification can reach less attractive dwellings or operate by means of demolition-reconstruction as well as recycling of old warehouses. Often a specific neighbourhood will feature a particular form of reclamation.

The most common case is that of neighbourhoods originally occupied by a comfortable middle class. With the departure of this class to the suburbs since the end of the second world war, property values in these neighbourhoods have fallen. Low and modest-income households gradually replaced the others. Because the income of these households failed to keep pace with inflation, their ability to pay rent declined and, by the same token, the housing stock deteriorated. The resulting low prices, together with their architectural interest, attracted the pioneering gentrifiers to these neighbourhoods. The intensive renovation activity causes the general level of property values in these neighbourhoods to rise. This model generally applies to most of the neighbourhoods of Plateau-Mont-Royal and some neighbourhoods of the Centre district⁵⁴.

Some neighbourhoods, like the Centre-Sud, Saint-Henri and Pointe-Saint-Charles, have been working class from the beginning⁵⁵. They are less desirable than the adjacent inner city neighbourhoods, but are well provided for in terms of services and transportation. The price of housing is kept low because of the residents' limited ability to pay. Here, the low prices and the proximity to work are the main attractions for new arrivals. The gay neighbourhoods of San Francisco are a good illustration of this model while in Montréal, the Centre-Sud neighbourhood near the Jacques-Cartier bridge is an example of this form of gentrification. This neighbourhood has appreciated with the development of the broadcasting sector (CBC, Radio-Québec, etc.).

Gentrification can also occur through demolition-reconstruction. Such is the case of Petite Bourgogne along the Lachine Canal, or the Griffintown neighbourhood stretching from the

⁵⁴ DANSEREAU, F., and CHOKO, M., 1987. Op. cit.

⁵⁵ MORIN, R., 1987. *Réanimation urbaine et pouvoir local*. Presses de l'Université du Québec, INRS-Urbanisation, 173 p.

business district to the beginning of the Lachine Canal. At the beginning of the 1970s, some sectors were so dilapidated that it was considered advisable to allow, under local programs, the demolition of a good number of units and gradually rebuild. Here, the actors are more attracted by the very central location.

Finally, another form of gentrification consists in recycling old abandoned warehouses, unused plants or factories that have been closed. These specimens of the industrial era are converted into residential buildings (COOPs, condominiums, lofts). Such recycling affects older mixed-use neighbourhoods (heavy industry, manufacturing, warehouses, shops, residential) near the downtown core and often near a body of water. These neighbourhoods have suffered from the continuing deindustrialization since the end of the second world war and offer unused buildings at low prices. Examples include the warehouses of the Vieux-Port (Ville-Marie neighbourhood), industrial buildings along the Lachine Canal and factories along the rue Saint-Laurent.

Gentrification therefore takes many forms in the supply of housing but, in each case, there are tangible signs, from an economic standpoint, of the vitality generated by the reclamation of the inner city. They can be found in investments in renovation, new construction or the appreciation in residential value, among others. A study of these variables will confirm, from the standpoint of these economic variables, the existence of gentrification in the Central Core of Montréal.

4.1 Housing starts: in spite of demolitions, significant performance of the Central Core

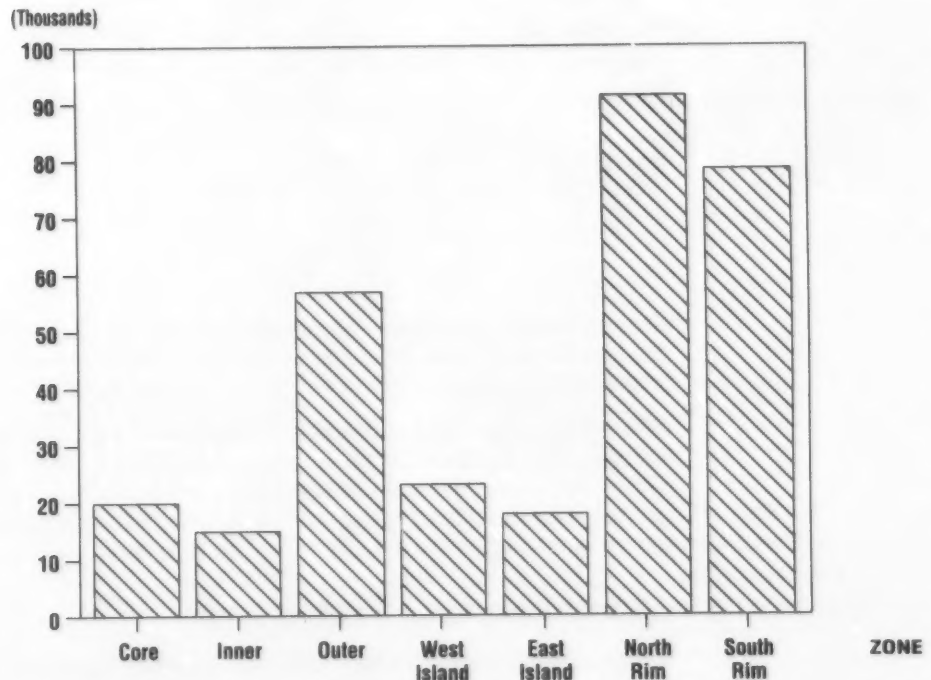
Twenty thousand housing units were started from 1972 to 1985 in the Central Core. This does not include units created through recycling, which is very widespread in the Central Core (Vieux-Montréal, Vieux-Port, Lachine Canal) and has generated a substantial number of housing units. If recycling were included, the number of new housing units in the Central Core would surely exceed 20 000.

Chart 10 shows the number of units started from 1972 to 1985 in each zone. As was to be expected, urban sprawl continued during this period. The North Rim and South Rim alone account for more than half the starts in the metropolitan region. On the island of Montréal, the Outer Ring ranks first in terms of housing starts. In spite of having less space available for property development, the Central Core and Inner Ring are comparable to the West Island and East Island. However, these zones are not comparable in terms of area. The smallest are the Central Core and Inner Ring. To obtain a construction index that is comparable from one zone to another, we divided the gross number of housing starts by the area of the zone.

Table 19 gives the area of each zone and the index of intensity of housing starts per km². The index is highest in the Central Core where it is five to six times higher than in the Off-Island suburbs. This indicates that construction activity in the Central Core is intense and is another demonstration of the desire to live in inner city neighbourhoods, not in old dwellings in this case, but in new housing. Is this one of the many forms of supply in response to gentrification?

A more effective result would be to compare housing starts to dwellings demolished during the period under consideration. We compiled the demolitions from 1972 to 1985 using City of Montréal building permit statistics. In the Central Core, excluding Outremont and Westmount (13.3% of housing units in 1971), 13 000 dwellings were demolished. In the Inner Ring, excluding Verdun (10.6% of housing units in 1971), 3 300 were torn down. If we simply compute new construction less demolitions per km², it is clear that the Central Core's performance would fall far short of what is given in Table 19. This result would make the Central Core more comparable to the suburbs where demolitions are more infrequent.

Chart 10
Housing Starts by Analysis Zone
of the Montréal CMA, from 1972 to 1985



Source : Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).
Building permit statistics (City of Montréal) Authors' compilation.

However, these demolitions must be seen in their proper context. Most were carried out for purposes other than reconstruction, for instance, the Ville-Marie freeway, the Université du Québec à Montréal, or the buildings demolished to make way for the construction of new

Table 19
Housing Starts Intensity Index by Analysis Zone
in the Metropolitan Montréal Area, from 1972 to 1985

Zone	(1) Number of housing starts	(2) Area of zone (km ²)	Intensity index (1) ÷ (2) (starts/km ²)
Central Core	20 000	37.9	528
Inner Ring	14 134	57.9	244
Outer Ring	56 534	162.5	348
West Island	22 394	167.5	134
East Island	18 805	67.0	281
North Rim	90 736	908.1	100
South Rim	78 413	1000.1	78
Montréal CMA	301 016	2401.0	125

Sources: Housing starts statistics (CMHC).
 Building permits statistics (City of Montréal).
 Area statistics (Statistics Canada).
 Authors' compilation.

office space near downtown. The only genuine demolition-reconstruction project of any size took place in Petite Boulogne in the early 1970s. It was part of the first renewal programs involving demolition and clearing followed by reconstruction.

With these clarifications concerning demolition, our construction intensity index is a valid indicator which ranks the Central Core first among the analysis zones. It is likely (given the diminished interest noted among tenants) that some of this construction activity was directed in favour of the growing number of homeowner households in the Central Core and the new middle class associated with gentrification.

4.2 Residential investment: the City of Montréal

The growing presence of a new middle class gradually appropriating the space held until then by a less affluent class, that indeed seems to be the case! But as understood in the literature, gentrification is more than that. It is also reflected in a return of capital to older inner city neighbourhoods⁵⁶. A lot of money is invested in the Central Core to improve housing conditions, the residential environment, and a commercial system that had been allowed to deteriorate since the middle of the century.

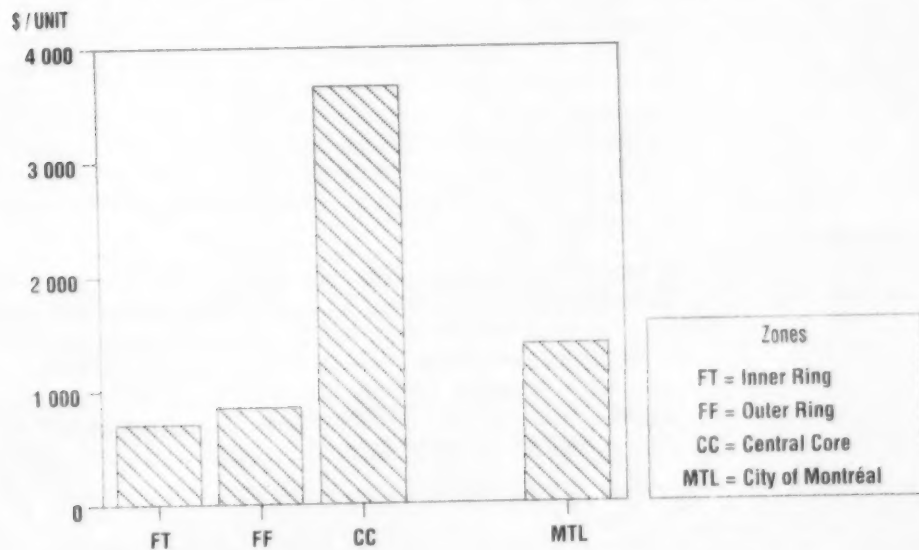
⁵⁶ ZUKIN, S., 1987. "Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13:129-47.

In Montréal, residential renovation is unquestionably the most visible aspect of this urban revitalization. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the stock of housing in the Central Core has been upgraded through major renovation work.

On the other hand, where space is available, investments in new housing, often condominium, are made. Finally, some commercial arteries have been revitalized to adapt them to the consumer tastes and fashions of new clientele.

But to what extent has the development in the Central Core been different from that of the other Mid-Island zones? We examined the dollar value recorded on City of Montréal permits. The data compiled concern only the three Mid-Island zones: the Central Core, the Inner Ring and the Outer Ring. These zones are not entirely covered since the data are restricted to the City of Montréal.

Chart 11
Ratio of Renovations (Constant 1986 Dollars)
per Unit Occupied in 1971 for Mid-Island Zones
(City of Montréal Only), 1971-1985



Sources : City of Montréal building permit statistics
Compilation: SHQ
Design: GEOSAT - télédétection inc.

4.2.1 Buoyant residential renovation activity in the Central Core

Our index of residential renovation activity⁵⁷ measures a level of activity five times higher in Montréal-Core than in Montréal-Outer (see Chart 11). In terms of renovation of older dwellings, the Central Core and Inner Ring are more readily comparable since these zones have a large quantity of older dwellings (60% of dwellings in the Central Core are pre-1946 compared to 40% in the Inner Ring and 10% in the Outer Ring).

Between 1971 and 1985, an average of \$3 500 per unit was spent in the Central Core. This is not the average per renovated unit, but the values of the chart undoubtedly underestimate the true values. It is well-known that much renovation work, particularly interior, is done without a permit. In the first stage of gentrification, the pioneers do most of the work themselves, enabling them to own a comfortable home even with little capital. This is what American authors call sweat equity⁵⁸. More often than not, such work is not reported to the municipality. Only in the later stages of the process, when specialists (promoters, developers) come on the scene, do building permits become more frequent.

Moreover, the amounts stated in the permit application, when an application is made, are sometimes under-estimated for various reasons (limit the cost of the permit, influence the subsequent assessment, etc.). This having been said, comparisons can still be made between zones and over time.

Chart 12 tells us a good deal about the pace of renovation work between 1971 and 1985. The value of renovation work was grouped into three-year blocks. The Central Core is clearly in a class by itself. Not only is the intensity of major work consistently greater than elsewhere, but the pace of renovation work has risen significantly since the mid-1970s. During the period 1983-1985, the Central Core posted an average of \$1 300/unit compared to only \$300 in the two other zones. This is a substantial difference, particularly when compared with the 1974-1976 period (Central Core: \$266/unit, Inner Ring: \$74/unit, Outer Ring: \$117/unit).

Is this urban revitalization caused solely by gentrification? Residential improvement is not limited to gentrifiers. It is also done by established or former residents of the neighbourhood (incumbent upgrading⁵⁹). However, one thing remains: residential renovation is buoyant in the Central Core, which is not the case in the Inner Ring even though it has a largely comparable housing stock (high density, older rental stock, etc.). In principle, the same factors should apply and the differences observed can be seen as a confirmation of the gentrification of the Central Core.

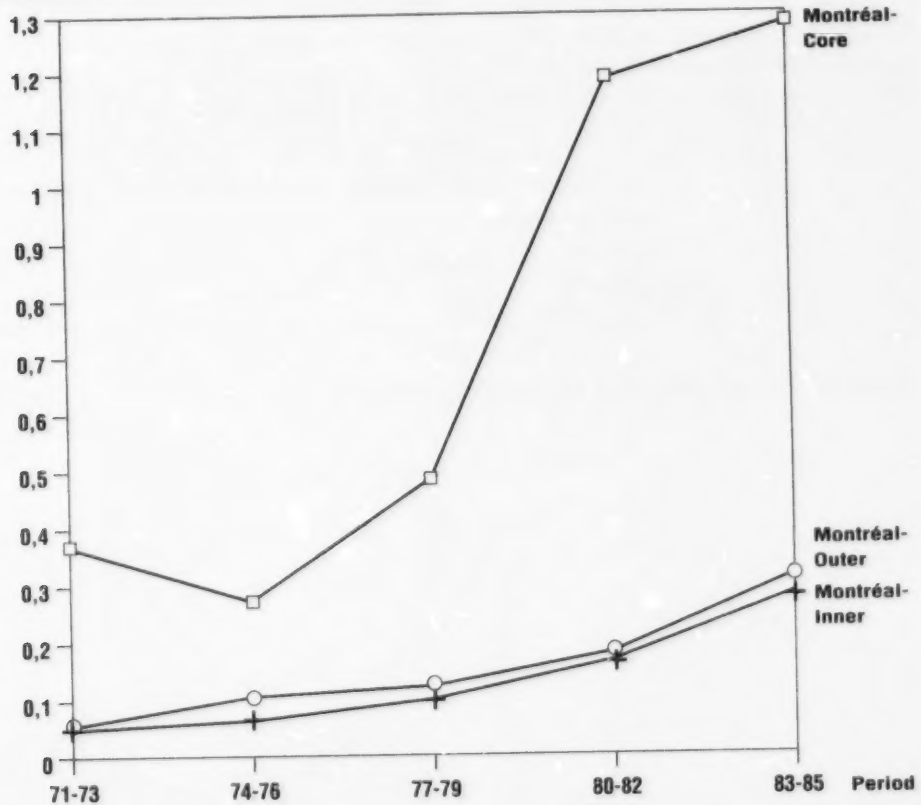
⁵⁷ Total declared residential renovation expenditures (in constant 1986 dollars) between 1971 and 1985 divided by the number of housing units occupied in 1971.

⁵⁸ LONDON, B., and PALEN, J.J., 1984. "Through the Glass Darkly: Gentrification, Revitalization and the Neighborhood", in J.J. PALEN and B. LONDON (ed.): 256-266.

⁵⁹ CLAY, P.L., 1980. "The Rediscovery of City Neighborhoods: Reinvestment by Long-Time Residents and Newcomers", in S.B. LASKA and D. SPAIN, (ed.): 13-26.

Chart 12
Value of Residential Repair and Alteration Permits Issued by the City
of Montréal Between 1971 and 1985, by Period and
by Mid-Island Zone (in Constant 1986 Dollars)

Value per unit
 occupied in 1971
 \$ Millions



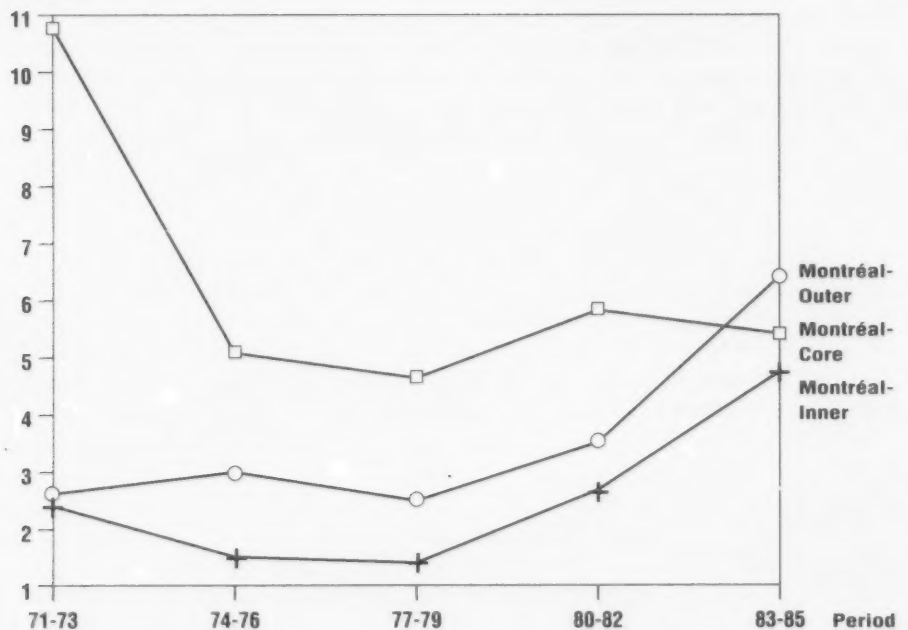
Source : City of Montréal building permits statistics
 Authors' compilation.

4.2.2 Demolition-reconstruction, a formula specific to the Central Core

In addition to a remarkable level of renovation activity, the Central Core has also been the scene of relatively large investments in new construction. Chart 13 shows the movements of our construction activity index⁶⁰ for each zone over the period from 1971 to 1985. The first thing to notice is that the Central Core is well-ahead of the other zones in terms of investment until 1980-1982. Starting from a position four times greater than that of the other two zones in 1971-1973, the pace of construction sagged constantly until 1977-1979. In spite of a resurgence of activity in 1980-1982, the Central Core was overtaken by the other zones in 1983-1985.

Chart 13
Value of Residential Building Permits Issued
by the City of Montréal Between 1971 and 1985, by Period
and by Mid-Island Zone (in Constant 1986 Dollars)

Value per square
kilometre
\$ Millions



Source : City of Montréal building permits statistics
Authors' compilation.

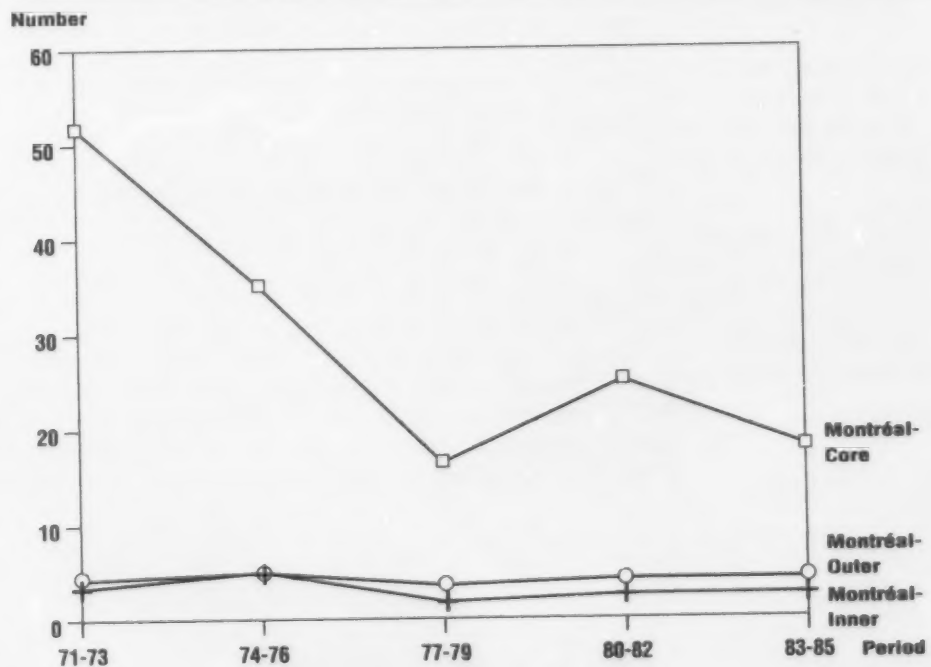
⁶⁰ Total declared new residential construction expenditures (in constant 1986 dollars) between 1971 and 1985 divided by the zone's area in square kilometres.

A comparison of the charts of construction and renovation investment (charts 12 and 13) indicates that substitution has taken place. Since the mid-1970s, renovation is preferred to new construction in the Central Core. There are two possible reasons for this substitution: a growing affordability problem for households and slowdown in demolition activity in the Central Core.

Financing costs (mortgage interest) have risen much faster than household income since the mid-1970s. As the financial effort, expressed by the ratio of occupancy costs/income, to own a new home became too high, households turned to older, lower-priced homes and then made repairs and renovations as their finances allowed.

On the other hand, the high level of demolition activity particularly in the early 1970s slowed noticeably in the Central Core as shown in Chart 14. When this chart is compared with Chart 13, it is apparent that new construction and demolition are following the same trend in the Central Core. Starting from the time when demolition rules were tightened (late 1970s), the pace of construction in the Central Core dropped off and substitution in favour of renovation of the existing stock came into play.

Chart 14
Housing Units Demolished in the City of Montréal
Between 1971 and 1986,
by Mid-Island Zone



Source : City of Montréal building permits statistics
Authors' compilation.

The Inner Ring and Outer Ring do not appear to have adopted this demolition-reconstruction model. These zones display very comparable profiles in terms of renovation, new construction and demolition, even though their features are very different. The Inner Ring resembles the Central Core more closely (high density, large proportion of older housing, etc.) than it does the Outer Ring where land available for real estate development is relatively more plentiful.

Demolition-reconstruction is one possibility for gentrification. Our charts show that the process of renewal is mainly associated with the beginning of the analysis period (1971-1973) but only a more detailed study, over time and by neighbourhood, would allow us to truly establish a link with gentrification.

4.3 Sustained increase in property values: final confirmation of gentrification of inner city neighbourhoods

The increase in residential property values is a final logical outcome of this urban revitalization. The massive investment inevitably has an effect on property value⁶¹. The appreciation in the value of renovated units has a spill-over effect on other dwellings, especially an increase in land values. As gentrification spreads, the inner city becomes more and more in demand, generating upward pressure on prices.

According to theory⁶², once the process is under way in a neighbourhood, the pioneering gentrifiers are risk-oblivious. They purchase dwellings in a dilapidated urban environment at a low price and renovate them themselves. There is nothing to indicate that the degradation of this environment will not continue. To spread the risk, properties are often bought in common (undivided co-ownership, cooperatives). At this stage, lenders are very reluctant and require large cash investments. Furthermore, undivided co-ownership is a more precarious legal formula than condominium. To protect themselves, the partners must turn to contractual mechanisms, but few people thought of that when the formula began to be popular.

After a few years of this kind of activity, a new group of households appears. They are sensitized by the media or real estate brokers and are aware of the revitalization of these older neighbourhoods. Their arrival accelerates the process and investors' confidence is gradually established. The new purchasers are more sensitive to the investment potential and are risk-prone. Lenders are more favourably disposed, so that mortgage lending is more readily available. More intensive residential renovation encourages owners to make use of experts to do the work. In an undivided co-ownership situation, the partners readily sign notarized agreements to be better protected. Some, with the same goal in mind, move from undivided co-ownership to condominium. At this stage, property values are rising steadily. Property taxes rise generally, leading to substantial rent increases, forcing the more vulnerable tenants to move. Speculators begin to acquire properties.

⁶¹ SENÉCAL, P., and TEUFEL, D., 1988. "Gentrification et changements dans les modes d'occupation des logements: le contexte nord-américain et le cas de Montréal". Nancy, France, *Actualités internationales du Laboratoire-Logement*, 3:67-88.

⁶² GALE, D.E., 1980. Op. cit.

After this stage, which lasts several years, the neighbourhood can be clearly identified as reclaimed by the new middle class. Home prices are now high. A new stage begins, during which sales reach a peak. There is definite prestige associated with living in these older homes which are considered to have high residential value. The earlier bargains are increasingly rare. Risk-averse households begin to appear. They purchase completely renovated homes from the pioneers. These purchasers prefer title forms that are clearly established by law: condominium or freehold. Prices tend to stabilize at this stage.

In our view, only some localized blocks of the Central Core have reached this final stage. On the other hand, we feel that many neighbourhoods or areas of neighbourhoods have reached the mid-point of the process. Property assessment data of the Communauté urbaine de Montréal confirm this. We have calculated the increase in assessed value of duplexes and triplexes from 1976 to 1986⁶³. "Plex" type buildings are very common in the inner city neighbourhoods and in general were fairly deteriorated in the early 1970s, so that they provide a good illustration of the phenomenon under consideration. We computed the value per unit in constant 1986 dollars and compared the Central Core with other zones of the CUM.

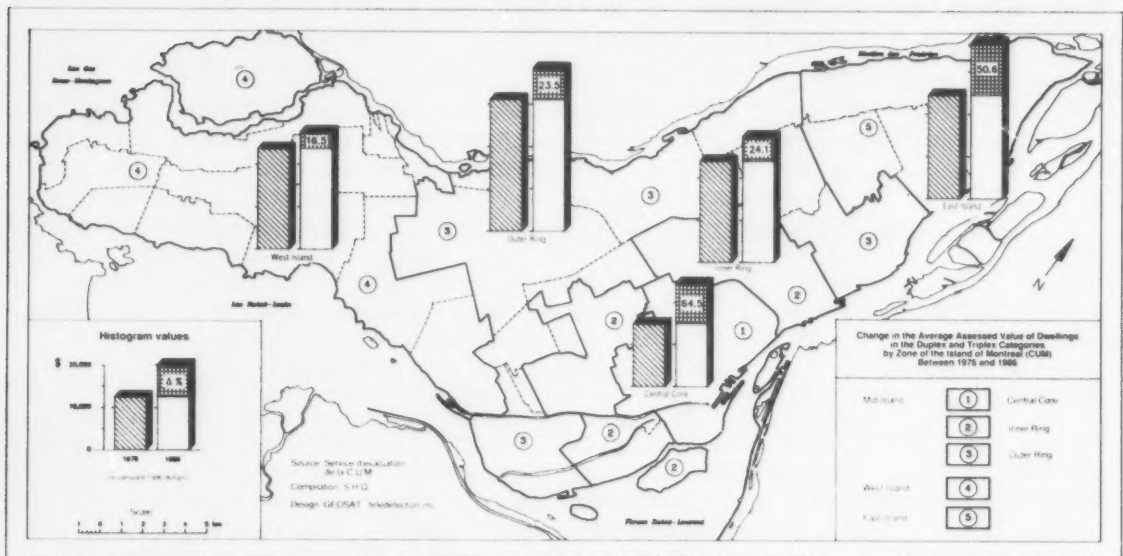
Map 10 shows the average value, for each zone, of a "plex" dwelling in 1976 and 1986, as well as its relative increase. Note that the value in 1976 is much lower in the Central Core (about \$15 000) than elsewhere, confirming the deteriorated condition of the buildings. The improvement is remarkable: from 1976 to 1986, the relative increase was almost 65% in the Central Core, after being deflated. The increase is two or three times greater than in the Inner Ring and Outer Ring and almost four times that of the West Island. Only the East Island comes close with a relative increase of about 50%, essentially attributable to high level of construction activity during this period.

There is a certain amount of making up for lost ground in the Central Core which cannot be separated from the gentrification process. In 1976, the average value of a "plex" dwelling in the Central Core was barely 57% of the average value of a "plex" dwelling in the CUM. In 1986, this proportion had risen to 73% and, based on assessment data gathered since 1986, indications are that the gap is still narrowing.

However, while the process of catching up is significant and tangible, and confirms the gentrification of the Central Core, it gives no indication of which stage of the reinvestment process we have reached. To obtain a better idea, we examined the percentage increase in value in various municipal neighbourhoods (see Map 11). Almost all the neighbourhoods of the Plateau-Mont-Royal district have experienced increases above the average for the Central Core, i.e. above 65%. Outremont is in the same category with a real increase of 66% between 1971 and 1986. This reflects the pressures on these areas.

⁶³ Data for 1971 are not available for all municipalities of the CUM.

Map 10
Change in the Average Assessed Value of Dwellings in the Duplex and Triplex Categories
by Zone of the Island of Montréal (CUM) Between 1976 and 1986



The pressure on some neighbourhoods has been even greater. Most of the neighbourhoods located, from east to west, between the Lafontaine Park (avenue Papineau) and Mount Royal Park (avenue du Parc) and, from north to south, from the avenue du Mont-Royal to the Vieux-Port, have experienced increases of between 90% and 125%. To the west, the neighbourhoods of Petite Boulogne and Griffintown between the Lachine Canal and the rue Saint-Antoine have undergone similar increases in assessed value. There seems to be a link between proximity to large parks or bodies of water (St. Lawrence River, Mount Royal Park, Lafontaine Park, Lachine Canal national park) and the increase in assessed value. The literature often points out the association between such green spaces and gentrification.

Moreover, based on assessment data, the process did not seem to be really under way yet in Saint-Henri by the end of this period (1986). However, it appeared to have made a timid beginning in Pointe-Saint-Charles (Sainte-Anne municipal neighbourhood: 47%). Since 1986, activity has been fairly buoyant in many neighbourhoods along the Lachine Canal. Deindustrialization is on-going and many unused industrial buildings have been recycled for residential purposes. Young professionals are attracted by these new dwellings of the Sud-Ouest district. There is already significant activity in Petite Boulogne where many lofts and condominium projects have sprung up along the north bank of the Lachine Canal.

In the southeast region, in the heart of the broadcasting district, the average assessment of "plex" type dwellings in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood rose by almost 82% between 1976 and 1986. Bourget is next with 65%, Papineau with 49% and Saint-Eusèbe with 44%. All indications are that the East is maintaining its attraction. For instance, there is the *Cité de l'image*, near the Jacques-Cartier bridge, which is becoming the preferred district for

avant-garde theatre and new cinema in Montréal. Among other projects, many scenes from Jean-Claude Lauzon's film, *Un zoo la nuit*, were shot in this district. This new cultural vitality will probably attract artists and other culture professionals to live in or near the district, if that is not already the case.

Unfortunately, our compiled data do not extend beyond 1986. Furthermore, the assessment uses data for the preceding year's transactions (1985) to produce the following year's roll (1986). There can be no doubt that movement has occurred since then.

However, what is certain is that value reflects an equilibrium price between demand (new middle class) and supply (renovation, recycling, etc.) in the Central Core. The change in value between 1976 and 1986 unquestionably provides the ultimate confirmation that the inner city neighbourhoods have undergone significant changes that to a large extent likely correspond to the effects of gentrification.

Map 11
Deflated Relative Increase in the Average Assessed Value
of a "Plex" Unit by City or Montréal Municipal Neighbourhood
(1976 to 1986)

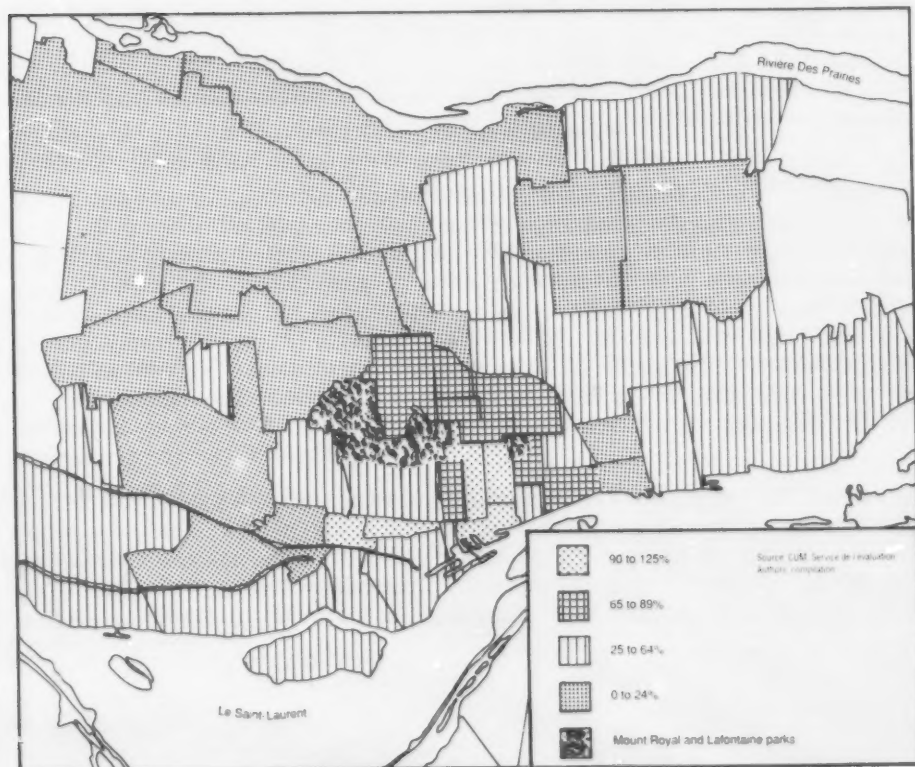
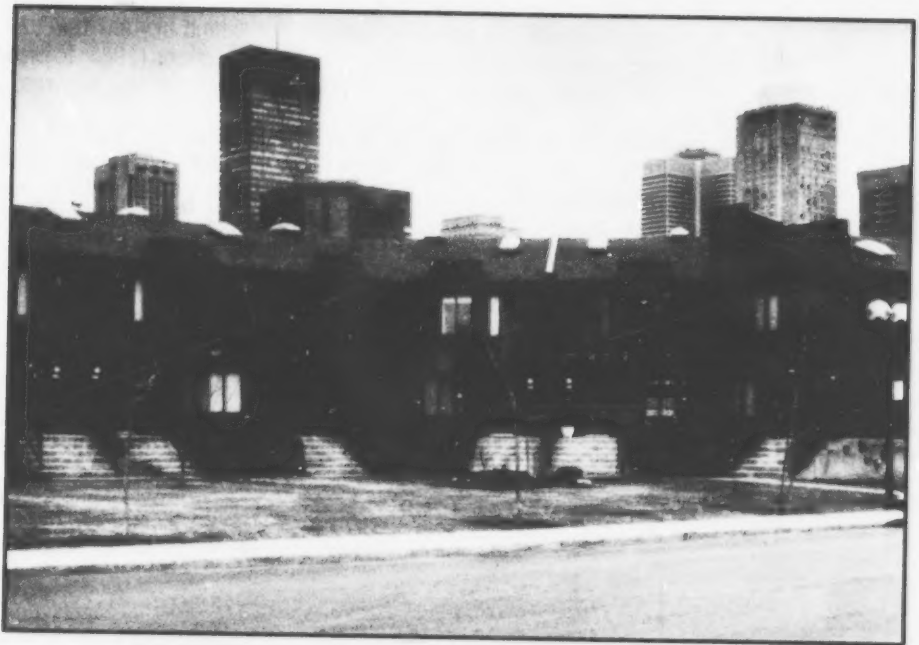


PHOTO 8
Redevelopment ten minutes
from downtown



Following extensive demolition in the 1960s and 1970s, some blocks of the Sud-Ouest have undergone a face-lift. An example is Montréal's very old Irish neighbourhood of Griffintown.

5 CONCLUSION

The essential object of this research was the gentrification of the inner city of Montréal, as well as what seems in part to be one of its consequences, the conversion of rental housing to ownership. The quantitative study examined the development of these phenomena over a period of 15 years (1971 to 1986) and produced a number of measurements of the relative scope and extent of the associated changes. It provides answers to most of the questions we asked at the outset of our work.

5.1 Is gentrification in the inner city of Montréal apparent at the aggregate level? Is this a marginal, isolated phenomenon?

The results allow us to conclude that gentrification is now apparent at the aggregate level in the Central Core of Montréal. The profile of this zone has undergone significant changes between 1971 and 1986, showing that the Central Core is indeed engaged in such a process. The size of its households is shrinking and there are fewer and fewer children. The age group made up of baby boomers, which many authors have associated with gentrification, now occupy a preponderant position in this zone.

Besides these demographic considerations, these changes are most apparent in the features related to the social status of the Central Core. In 1986, one out of every five adults there was a university graduate. Two workers out of every five held white collar jobs (technical, professional, managerial, etc.). These proportions now exceed those recorded in the West Island whose social status historically has always been the highest of the metropolitan region. From 1971 to 1986, the number of residents in the Central Core who hold a university degree and of those who hold a professional job has more than doubled, even though there has been substantially diminished interest among the adult population during this period (drop of more than 15%). From this perspective, this result is remarkable and exceeds all expectations.

But although gentrification has become apparent, it has to be acknowledged that it is restricted to the Central Core alone. Apart from a slight relative increase in the number of university graduates, the Inner Ring shows few apparent signs of urban reclamation when other variables are analyzed (baby boomers, professionals, etc.) associated with this specific urban process. Our measurements allow us, for instance, to conclude that the gentrification of the Central Core has brought in 26.6% more graduates than would have been expected in 1986. From this point of view, that is a lot. When this surplus is compared with the overall adult population (20 or over in 1986) of this Mid-Island zone, the percentage is only 4.4%, which represents a relatively shallow penetration of the phenomenon over a period of 15 years.

On the other hand, the visible nature of gentrification has to be emphasized. Substantial capital investment, both in new construction and residential renovation, has occurred throughout the period under study. The indicator of the intensity of residential housing starts proved to be highest in this zone, outstripping the other zones of the metropolitan region by a wide margin. Since land is very scarce in the centre, demolition-reconstruction

is primarily responsible for such a level of activity in the inner city neighbourhoods of the Central Core. In addition, there was much activity in terms of residential renovation. Investment was four times greater in the Central Core than in the Inner Ring and Outer Ring. Since the end of the 1970s, the pace of such investment in the most central zone of Montréal has accelerated.

These two manifestations of supply (demolition-reconstruction and renovation) are the most visible aspects of the changes in the Central Core. This is also reflected in the value of residential property. From 1976 to 1986, the average property assessment of a "plex" type dwelling (duplex or triplex) rose, in real terms (comparison in constant 1986 dollars) by almost 65%. Over the same period, the average increase of the entire CUM excluding the Central Core barely topped 25%.

The rehabilitation of the Central Core indicates that this zone appears to have emerged from a long period of disinvestment extending back to the middle of the century. It has become attractive once again for specific segments of the population. The significant increase in property values could lead others, more risk-averse than the pioneer gentrifiers, to settle there in larger numbers in the future. In some inner city neighbourhoods, the pioneering stage seems largely a thing of the past. In particular, this can be said of neighbourhoods in the Plateau-Mont-Royal. More specifically, the quadrilateral bounded by the "mountain" (avenue du Parc), Lafontaine park (avenue Papineau), avenue Mont-Royal and the Vieux-Port has witnessed increases in assessed value of more than 100%. This is also the case in Petite Bourgogne on the north side of the Lachine canal.

5.2 How does this phenomenon compare with urban sprawl in the metropolitan region? What movements indicate diminished interest on the part of different socio-demographic groups, and what are their residential location choices?

Gentrification is therefore a visible process in the Central Core. In fact it is well under way in some neighbourhoods where the phenomenon appears more irreversible than ever. Are these centripetal forces at the centre similar in strength to the centrifugal forces arising from urban sprawl? The answer is clear: no! It would be like comparing David and Goliath. Gentrification is an urban phenomenon that, while growing, seems relatively weak compared to the attraction of the suburbs. Moreover, there is nothing to indicate a reversal of the dominant trend in the near future. The population of the Off-Island suburbs grew by 50% from 1971 to 1986 (400 000 more people). On the other hand, the inner city (Central Core and Inner Ring) lost 25% of its population or 260 000 people. These two figures alone illustrate the huge gap between the two phenomena.

All age groups have contributed to the diminished interest in the most central zones. The loss was greatest in the Central Core. The disappearance of children from the inner city, because of a larger drop in the birthrate and the flight of parents to the suburbs, is the main reason for its decline in population. Among adults, only the 25-44 age group appears not to have been affected by the diminished interest in the Central Core where, once again, there are few children. Despite everything, the distant suburbs, where these children are much more numerous, remain the preferred location of baby boomers.

The results also allow us to conclude that, in spite of the general aging of the population and especially in spite of the fact that a multitude of services (full mass transit system, many hospitals, etc.) are located in the Central Core and the Inner Ring, people in the upper age groups (45-64, 65 or over) seem to be gradually abandoning these zones. Increasingly, the Outer Ring is the residential first choice for older people. From 1971 to 1986, the North Shore and East Island experienced the largest percentage increases in the 45-64 age group.

We have also observed that while the social status of the inner city has risen, non-graduates and non-professionals seem to be leaving it gradually. Increasingly, they are opting to live in the North Rim and South Rim and especially in the East Island where, for every additional graduate, there are eleven extra non-graduates.

Moreover, the forces of urban exodus are also acting on tenant households. For every new homeowner in the Central Core, one tenant leaves. In spite of the general move towards home-ownership since the 1970s, some areas such as the Outer Ring, the North Shore and the South Shore seem to attract more new tenant households than homeowner households. On the South Shore the ratio of new tenants to new homeowners is greater than two to one.

In the Central Core, then, there is a degree of diminished interest among tenants and groups of lower social status. Can we conclude from this that this is caused by gentrification or by urban sprawl? In our view, both phenomena contribute to this diminished interest to varying degrees. Obviously, gentrification, in which the actors involved have values and tastes that differ from those of the indigenous population, sometimes leads to friction between the two groups cohabiting in the same neighbourhood. In addition, the higher property values caused by this specific phenomenon, and reflected directly in the tax bill and rents, cause displacement among the most financially vulnerable segments of the population. On the other hand, since the end of the second world war, there has been a gradual deindustrialization of the centre⁶⁴, in favour of the suburbs and even the regions. So it is quite normal that workers move to where the jobs have gone, with the direct consequence that specific groups leave the inner city.

5.3 Is home-ownership a major phenomenon in the inner city? Has there been a significant loss of rental housing as a result of conversion to ownership?

From 1971 to 1986, there has been heavy pressure in favour of home-ownership in the inner city zones where the number of homeowners has risen by 18 500. The Central Core alone has experienced an increase of close to 60%, surpassing the two other Mid-Island zones and the West Island. Of all the metropolitan zones, with the exception of the East Island where home-ownership was greatly assisted by a combination of many housing programs, the "homeowner" profile of the Central Core changed the most. Home-ownership was a major phenomenon in this zone during this period.

⁶⁴ LAMONDE, P., assisted by M. POLESE, J. LAMOUREUX, and M. TESSIER, 1988. *La transformation de l'économie montréalaise, 1971-1986. Cadre pour une problématique de transport*. Montréal, INRS-Urbanisation, 152 p.

On the other hand, the inner city lost 7 200 tenant households during these 15 years. This net loss was concentrated mainly in the Central Core and is attributable to many factors, the main ones being the demolition and conversion of rental units to ownership status (mixed or co-ownership). This last factor is seen by many as one of the most important consequences of gentrification. That is true can be seen by reading most of the briefs tabled during the parliamentary commission held in the summer of 1987 on changes to the rules governing the conversion of rental buildings to condominium or undivided co-ownership status. The issue continues to provoke vigorous reactions since the phenomenon involves evictions and displacement of tenants.

Using the latest census data (1986), and figures on demolitions and housing starts, we were able to develop a model that employed various scenarios to estimate the real loss of rental housing caused by conversion of rental buildings. The results are quite revealing and provide new information on the scope and extent of this specific phenomenon. From 1971 to 1986, the loss of rental housing attributable to conversion amounted to from 15 000 to 20 000 units in the three Mid-Island zones. The average annual loss was slightly more than 1 000 rental units. This is a lot in absolute terms and explains why so much pressure was brought to bear to tighten the rules governing conversion in the Montréal region. However, in percentage terms, the loss was less than 5% of the rental stock (1971 to 1986) which seems relatively little when spread over 15 years. Our results also confirmed that the loss is more significant as we approach the centre (Central Core: 7%, Inner Ring: 4%, Outer Ring: 2%).

However, as can be seen, conversion of rental housing is certainly not confined to the Plateau-Mont-Royal which is regularly held up as an example. It is much more widespread than one would suspect and extends far beyond the Central Core. Its penetration compares well with the situation in many American inner cities. For instance, during the 1970s, the loss of rental housing through conversion to condominium amounted to 2% in Boston, 5% in Chicago, 6% in Houston and 7% in Washington⁶⁵. However, there is a difference between the situation in the United States and in Québec. From 1975 to 1987, the conversion to condominium occurred here in spite of a moratorium.

5.4 New avenues for research

As we have seen above, this research allows us to conclude that gentrification has become apparent at the aggregate level of the Central Core of Montréal. However, it has little to say on the specific places in the zone that are more affected by this phenomenon. Although the aggregate results do not indicate an occurrence of the phenomenon in the Inner Ring, that does not mean it is not present there at a more localized level. The inner city neighbourhoods affected by gentrification have surely been affected in varying degrees, and some may be very advanced along the process. In addition, the research analyzes each variable independently. An amalgamation of the most significant variables could enable us to develop a gentrification index or measure specific to Montréal. Future research projects in this area should take these considerations into account to improve our understanding of gentrification.

Such a gentrification measure would make it possible to analyze its progress in each of the inner city neighbourhoods. It would also be possible to determine, on a temporal basis, the speed of the process and the stage it has reached in each neighbourhood in question. It would even be interesting to forecast its future development. Neighbourhoods in the

⁶⁵ HUD. 1980. *Op. cit.*

process of being gentrified could be compared to those whose social status is declining. More specifically, an analysis of poverty in Montréal compared to this urban reclamation phenomenon could yield much information on their inter-relation. An examination of public intervention (residential renovation, the cooperative and non-profit formulae) in light of this new urban phenomenon would also be worthwhile. Some authors maintain that such public investment, designed primarily to assist the needy, promote gentrification by acting as a catalyst in some inner city neighbourhoods⁶⁶.

As for the question of gentrification v urban sprawl, research into the matter should be continued using cost-benefit analysis techniques. Mention is often made of the social costs (departure of indigenous residents in favour of a new middle class, co-habitation problems, uprooting of neighbourhoods, etc.) of gentrification, while the phenomenon has many positive effects for society (revitalization of the downtown core, residential renovation, renewal of commercial arteries, etc.). Somewhat paradoxically, there is much discussion of the social benefits of suburban living (low density, air quality, etc.), while urban sprawl involves heavy economic costs (road networks, new schools, electrical system, sewers, waterworks, etc.). An overall study, that would identify and quantify the costs and benefits of these two urban phenomena, would certainly prove very useful for public decision-makers.

Finally, there is a final subject for study, concerning the conversion of rental housing to co-ownership status, that would be worthwhile undertaking. Since the new rules came into force late in 1987⁶⁷, little is known of what is happening in this area. Since the new legislation has been in effect, how many units have been converted? Which municipalities are exercising their regulatory or exemption authority? What is the profile of tenants at the time of conversion? Who is buying the converted units? Are there problems in enforcing the new legislation? These are only a few of the questions such a study could investigate.

Given the increasingly heavy pressures on Mid-Island zones, it seems important to initiate new studies to enable public authorities and private interests to make the best decisions possible concerning an increasingly complex urban situation.

⁶⁶ LEY, D. 1988. Op. cit.

⁶⁷ Act respecting the Régie du logement, RSQ, Ch. R-8.1, sec. 51 and subsequent.

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CITY OF MONTRÉAL, *Statistiques de construction de 1971 à 1985*, Division de la construction, Service des permis et inspections.

COMMUNAUTÉ URBAINE DE MONTRÉAL, Property assessment data by city and municipal neighbourhood in 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986, Service d'évaluation foncière.

STATISTICS CANADA, Summary tapes of the 1971 census of the population.

STATISTICS CANADA, Population census data tapes, 1976, 1981 and 1986. Profiles A and B.



